BOOK NO. ACCESSION

914.55 B813d 200168

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THE LIBRARY

Form 37 10M 11-35

SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1223 9004 8138 4

SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE

The Dominican Church

OF

Santa Maria Novella at Florence:

A Historical, Architectural, and Artistic Study.

BY THE

REV. J. WOOD BROWN, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF "MICHAEL SCOT," &C.

WITH GROUND PLANS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CHURCH AND CONVENT.

OTTO SCHULZE & CO.

(SUCCESSORS TO WILLIAMS & NORGATE),

20 SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1902.

[*All Rights Reserved.*]

x q 914.55
B813d
200168

To my Wife.

PREFACE.

THE readers of "Michael Scot" will readily understand how the author's attention came to be directed to the Church which forms the subject of the present study. It was not without some research that I ventured in that volume to propose a figure in one of the frescoes of the Spanish Chapel as possibly meant for that of the great Scottish Scholar. But this research, as often happens, opened wider interests, and when its first purpose was served, the idea remained with me that the Spanish Chapel might well form the subject of a larger enquiry and a further publication. Hardly, however, had work been begun in this direction when it appeared impossible to treat of such a place apart from its natural surroundings, and I resolved rather to study it in its local and historic setting as one of the many buildings which adjoin the Church and compose the Convent of Santa Maria Novella.

Here again fresh difficulty arose from the extent and perplexity of so long and complicated a history. Some limit must clearly be found for a subject which threatened to exceed all reasonable bounds, and for a study which might easily become discursive and wearisome. Declining then all pretension to compose an exhaustive history, I proposed to investigate and present such facts as might be at once less familiar and more interesting. These, it was plain, might easily be grouped in periods under the order of time, and might even be made to find their

climax in a somewhat separate study of those paintings which had first caught my interest and suggested attention to the whole.

Thus then, Part I. will be found devoted entirely to the earliest history of Santa Maria Novella. The subject here is one which has hardly been touched by any previous writer, and its details seemed remarkable enough to warrant the care and space which have been devoted to the compilation of a kind of Chronicle of the Church from its first establishment to the coming of the Friars.

With the year 1221, however, began the history which, under many a vicissitude, has continued down to our own day. Here, of course, selection and compression became necessary; for much was already matter of common knowledge, and more was tedious and insignificant. In Part II., therefore, I have restricted myself almost entirely to what seemed most noteworthy—the great building period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries — and within these limits have given my chief attention to the bearing of certain little-known facts upon matters of general interest to all students of Florentine Art.

In Part III. the original plan is resumed in a separate and detailed study of the Spanish Chapel. As one of the Convent buildings it finds its own place and receives passing notice in Part II., but here in the final division of my work, I have felt the more free on this account to write both at large and in detail of that pictorial decoration which has drawn so many students hither, and made this place one of the chief shrines of Tuscan Art. To furnish a coherent interpretation of these frescoes, as a whole, with reference to the leading ideas which inspire them: such has been the final, as indeed it was the original, purpose of my studies.

The scope and shape of the book having been thus determined in the most natural way, there has yet emerged from these divisions by a kind of felicity something at once larger and nearer, of which I feel that it may be here permitted me to speak. For does not a Preface bring the author his supreme moment in which, when the work of years is done, he sees at last the whole result from its details, and may claim the right to

say what his book means to himself before he commits it to the judgment of the public?

History, Architecture, and Art—surely there is more here than a convenient division, or progress from the general to the particular. For these find their unity in Life itself, of which History is but the belated and calculated record; Architecture the unconscious contemporary expression; and Art the due adornment—a pathetic witness, in every line and colour, of its past pleasures, its abiding hopes and fears. In presence of this deeper unity Antiquary and guide fall silent, as the particulars to which they have pointed resume their just relation to a larger whole, and the story of a medieval Church, such as Santa Maria Novella, joins itself naturally to that of the race, and touches even the life and experience of the present. Every footfall that wakes the echoes of these aisles to-day marks the passage of 'founder's-kin,' and even the foreigner, if he catch the spirit of the place, may feel that he, too, is deeply at one with those who long ages since planned and built and carved and coloured, and so left here the best record of their long-forgotten lives.

To all who have aided me in these studies I would now offer my most sincere thanks, mentioning specially the Clergy and Church Officer of Santa Maria Novella; the R. R. Canonici Camarlenghi, who gave me such liberal and courteous access to the treasures of the Cathedral Archives; the Directors of the Archivio di Stato, and of the various Libraries of Florence—Nazionale, Riccardiana, and Marucelliana; and, not least, Sir Dominic Colnaghi, who has been good enough to study with me on the spot not a few of the difficult problems which this Church offers, and has favoured me again and again with information from those unpublished collections of his relating to Florentine art, which all who know of them are anxious to see given to the press.

With regard to the illustrations, I have to thank the Messrs. Alinari, of Florence, and Anderson, of Rome, for the courtesy with which they have allowed the use of their excellent photographs for the purpose of reproduction here. The Ground Plan of the Church, in Part II., has

been taken from a fine drawing made for me, from his own measurements, by my nephew, T. Graham Brown, and I have received much valued help from my wife in correcting the proof-sheets of this book. To those who may read it I now commit my work, sure that they will at least appreciate the interest and importance of the subject with which I have sought to deal.

J. WOOD BROWN.

16 Corso Regina Elena, Florence,
31*st December*, 1901.

CONTENTS.

Part I.—The First Chapel and Church.

(CHIEFLY HISTORICAL.)

Chapter I.—THE EARLY CHAPELRY.

PAGE

Meaning of the Name S. M. Novella—Colonising Movement from Fiesole in the Seventh Century—Relation of this *Novella* to that City—Similar case of San Martino—The Situation and Appearance of Santa Maria Novella in the Earliest Times, ... 3

Chapter II.—THE FIRST CHURCH.

Florence rises again, and S. M. Novella has a new importance in relation to the nearer City—Parish formed and Church built and consecrated in 1094—Its History and Progress during the following Century—Site and Style of this Church, ... 12

Chapter III.—THE CANONRY.

Nature of the Canonical Order, and its History in the Diocese of Florence—Property of the Chapter in S. M. Novella and consequent changes there, . 22

Chapter IV.—CANONS AND RECTORS.

Patronage at S. M. Novella and Manner of its Exercise—Order of Induction to the cure here—Succession of Incumbents—Priest Gerard offends the Parish in 1195—His Death, and the Candidature of Paul—The Chapter oppose this Clergyman and secure the Election of Ranieri—Armed resistance at the Church—Interdict on the part of the Chapter, and Enquiry in 1197 before Card. Pandulfus, the Pope's Commissioner—Victory of Paul and the Parish, . 27

Appendix.—Inventory of Documents, A.D. 983–1222, ... 39

Part II.—The Later Buildings.

(CHIEFLY ARCHITECTURAL.)

Chapter I.—THE TRANSEPT CHURCH.

PAGE

The Patarene War delays Building at S. M. Novella—Nature of this Heresy, and Defeat of those who held it in 1245—New Church begun—Reasons for thinking that this Building is represented by the present Transepts—Effect of this Conclusion on the Credit to be given to Vasari in his Account of the Early Studies of Cimabue, ... 51

Chapter II.—THE THIRD, OR PRESENT CHURCH.

Prior Aldobrandino Cavalcanti and his Architects—The Cardinal Latino lays the Foundation Stone in 1279—Grants in Aid of the Building—Completed c. 1300—Choir Screen—Rucellai Chapel—Succession of Architects in S. M. Novella—Decoration of the Church—Chapel of the Pura—'Restoration' by Vasari, 1565—Tombs in the Pavement, ... 62

Chapter III.—THE CONVENT.

Changes made on Canons' Cloister, c. 1221—Chapter House transferred to Via Valfonda, 1243—Ground acquired from S. Paolo—Progress of New Buildings: *Schola* of the Laudesi, 1285; Infirmary, 1291—State of the Convent at the close of the Thirteenth Century—Great Cloister probably begun c. 1303, at the Capitolo del Nocentino—Suspension of Works—Hospitium—Work resumed 1320—Chapel of St. Nicholas, 1332—Flood of 1333—Great Cloister rebuilt and heightened—Story of a Gambler's Sacrilege and Death—The Green Cloister and its Decoration—The Upper Storeys of the Great Cloister—Changes in the First Cloister: Chapels of the Strozzi, Popoleschi, Amieri, and St. Joseph—Decoration of St. Nicholas' Chapel—Dati's Cloister—Sale del Papa—Council of Florence and its Results, ... 73

Chapter IV.—THE CEMETERIES.

Churchyard of 1064—Burial in Church—Transepts built over the Churchyard: Proof of this—Development of New Cemeteries: The Sepolcreto, with its Eastern Aisle; the Upper Cemetery; the System of the Avelli, and the History of this Form of Interment—Changes in the Sepolcreto, and its Extension in opposite Directions as Space grew scarcer—Vaults of the Brunelleschi and Nelli; Compagnia of the Gesù Pellegrino, and Chapel of the Alfieri-Strinati—Changes in the Cemetery, ... 94

Appendix.—Itinerary of the Church, ... 111

Part III.—The Spanish Chapel.

(CHIEFLY IDEAL AND ARTISTIC.)

Chapter I.—THE FOUNDER AND HIS BUILDING.

PAGE

Plague at Florence, 1348, and its effect in promoting Piety—Guidalotti and his Director—Character of the Latter—Need of a new Chapter House at S. M. Novella—Talenti overcomes Difficulties of the Site, and builds it for Guidalotti—Beauty of this Structure, ... 139

Chapter II.—DECORATION AND LATER HISTORY OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

Guidalotti dies in 1355, and leaves Money to paint the Chapel and Capitolo—These Frescoes possibly restored c. 1430—The Place handed over to the Spaniards by Cosimo I. in 1567, and by them Rededicated and Decorated—Last Restoration in the Eighteenth Century by Veracini, ... 145

Chapter III.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE SPANISH CHAPEL: NORTH AND SOUTH WALLS.

Passavanti Plans the Ideal Scheme of these Frescoes—Their Arrangement about Two Axes—Doctrine of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Altarpiece and North and South Walls from Incarnation to Ascension, ... 150

Chapter IV.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE SPANISH CHAPEL: WEST AND EAST WALLS.

Roof-Centre and Meaning of Symbol there—Connection between Current Ideas of the Time and these Frescoes of the descending Spirit—Division of the Spirit's Grace—The Wisdom of the West Wall; the Power of the East—Final connection of all with South Roof-Space and Centre, ... 155

Appendix.—Iconography of the Spanish Chapel, ... 163

Index, ... 173

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. THE CHURCH FROM THE PIAZZA (*Original Etching*), . . *Frontispiece*
2. SPANISH CHAPEL FROM GREEN CLOISTER (*Alinari, No. 2291*), *To face p.* 10
3. GROTESQUE CAPITAL IN GONDI CHAPEL (*Phot. Romanelli*), . „ 58
4. PERSPECTIVE OF NAVE (*Alinari, No. 2272*), . . . „ 66
5. FRIARS' WALK, GREEN CLOISTER (*Alinari, No. 2292*), . . „ 83
6. RUCELLAI MADONNA (*Anderson, No. 8143*), . . . „ 127
7. SPANISH CHAPEL: NORTH WALL (*Alinari, No. 4110*), . . „ 151
8. „ „ DETAIL FROM SOUTH WALL (*Alinari, No. 4097*), „ 153
9. „ „ WEST WALL (*Alinari, No. 4077*), . . „ 157
10. „ „ EAST WALL (*Alinari, No. 4100*), . . „ 159

GROUND PLANS.

11. HISTORICAL PLAN OF SUCCESSIVE CHURCHES, . . . „ 19
12. PLAN OF CONVENT, ... „ 76
13. PLAN OF CHURCH, ... „ 115

PART I.

THE FIRST CHAPEL AND CHURCH.

(CHIEFLY HISTORICAL.)

CHAPTER I.

The Early Chapelry.

IT has been generally known that before the coming of the Dominican Friars in the first quarter of the thirteenth century Santa Maria Novella was already a Parish and Church of respectable antiquity, but even those who have written on this subject tell us little more than that in the year 983, the date of its first appearance in the documents, Santa Maria Novella belonged to the Canons of Florence, and that it was formally consecrated as a Parish Church in 1094. Let us see then if it may not be possible to reconstruct the earlier history of the place, and to fill these meagre outlines with a little more life and detail. If we succeed, the result will be a chapter added to the story of a very obscure period: the dark ages of the Faith in Florence.

For this purpose it is best we should begin by studying the name itself, in which a good deal of ancient history will be found hidden. A deed of the year 1020, though referring not to our Santa Maria Novella, but to another Church of the same name near Lucardo in the Val d'Elsa, is of service here, as it presents us with the form "Sce. Marie sito Novella."[1] We thus learn that what we have to deal with is a place-name, and that Santa Maria Novella means the Church dedicated to the Virgin situated on the lands called Novella.

A new enquiry thus offers itself to our attention in the meaning of this name. Du Cange says that Novella is another form of Novale, and is used to mean "land lately brought under cultivation, which has lain

[1] Archivio Capitolare Florence, No. 188. This Santa Maria Novella is in the Commune of Certaldo and Montespertoli, about four miles from S. Casciano, itself some ten miles south of Florence.

fallow beyond the memory of man."[1] Ours then is 'Santa Maria at the fallow ground just broken up': to render in English the full sense of this appellation.

But here, as we reflect upon it, a difficulty arises and demands solution. Though this Church of S. Mary lay in early times outside the city walls, it was yet close to them, and never could have been at any time distant more than ten minutes' walk from the centre of Florence. Now Florence, according to the best authorities, was a town which grew up in the second century B.C., about a bridge which spanned the Arno just where the Ponte Vecchio stands to-day, and which carried across that stream the great provincial road built by the Romans between Bologna and Arezzo. From the second century B.C. to the latest days of the Empire Florence was a considerable Roman Colony, and in what age then must we look for the time when a spot under its very walls was a 'Novella'—land just reclaimed from the wastes?

A hint of the solution offers itself when we recollect that 'Novella' is a word dating from the times of the lower Empire. In the dark ages then we are to seek such ruin and abandonment of the Florentine territory as may open the way for a new colonising movement with its consequent *novellæ*. Does history know of such a thing?

In the year of grace 542, Florence was occupied by an Imperial garrison under the command of a captain called Justin.[2] The barbarians of Totila's horde had crossed the Apennines, and a detachment under Bleda, Roderic and Uliaris laid siege to the city. Justin, hard pressed within his walls, sent for help to Ravenna, and Cyprian, John and Bessus led troops thence for his relief. The siege was raised, and the barbarian army, after inflicting a severe defeat on the Imperialists in the Mugello, gave Florence the go-by and streamed southward in their victorious progress towards Rome. Details of subsequent events are lacking for this part of the country, but it would seem that Justin decided that Florence was no longer tenable, and withdrew, followed no doubt by most of the inhabitants, to the more ancient site and more defensible situation of Fiesole, the old Etruscan Capital.

[1] "Pro agro qui de novo ad cultum redigitur, de quo non extat memoria quod aliquando cultus fuisset," and he quotes from a Charter of 971, 'apud Menesterium in Probat. Hist. Lugdun.,' p. xxxviii. col. 1, the following instance of its use:—"Cellam quoque de Occiaco cum Ecclesia S. Andreæ . . . et novellis, universaque illis adjacentia."—See Ducange Dictionarium, *sub voce.*

[2] See the History of Procopius, and the accounts of this invasion in Hodgkin's 'Italy and her Invaders,' Vol. IV., and Davidsohn 'Geschichte von Florenz,' Vol. I., pp. 51, 52.

The ancient 'Acts' of S. Alessandro, Bishop of Fiesole in the seventh century,[1] show us that this city was then in a flourishing state, under a Governor appointed by the Lombard King. And a charter of Charlemagne, which speaks of the Monastery of San Miniato, as in the territory of Fiesole,[2] shows that even as late as the year 774, Florence, abandoned two centuries before, and only of late beginning to lift up its head again, was still reckoned a mere village or suburb of the more considerable see.

Two important facts would seem, therefore, to emerge from the darkness of these times: the *novellæ* mark the progress of a colonising movement which took place during the seventh century, when settled government began to be achieved under Lombard rulers. And the centre from which this movement spread, was not Florence, but Fiesole.

It is very possible, indeed, that the mother city of more than one such colony on the south of the Arno—the Santa Maria Novella, near S. Casciano; and another place and church of the same name in the Val di Paglia, near Radicofani—may have been Lucardo, in these days a city, and the centre of a far-reaching province.[3] But that our "St. Mary, late Fallows" was colonised and consecrated from Fiesole, the first result of a movement that crept tentatively down the Mugnone valley, and ended by re-establishing Florence in something of its old importance, hardly admits of doubt; for were history and topography insufficient by themselves to establish this fact, it would not be difficult to support the strong suggestion they offer by evidence of a more precise and detailed kind.

What this evidence is, we shall presently see; meanwhile, let us put in plain words the matter to be thus confirmed. Florence was

[1] Quoted, from a Passionario in the Chapter Library, by Lami 'Lezioni d'Antichità,' P. I., p. 293.

[2] The words are:—'Monasterium in Civitate Fessolana Sanctos Michael, atque Monasterium Sci. Miniati in ipsius Civitate, cum cellis suis in ipsius Civitate vel foris ad ipsos pertinentes.'—See the charter printed in Muratori, Vol. V., and Lami 'Lezioni,' P. I., p. 293, and II., p. 429.

[3] See Lami 'Lezioni,' P. II., p. 429. The Contado of Lucardo extended almost as far north as Florence, to judge by the deed of 774 already cited. It comprehended such churches as Varlungo, only a mile above Florence, on the north bank of the Arno; Quarto, near Ripoli; Quaracchi, four miles west of the city, near Brozzi, &c. On the other hand note that the very important church of Santa Maria, near Radda, some fifteen miles south of Florence, was certainly a Novella of Fiesole, to which diocese, indeed, it even yet belongs, forming in our own day a trace and proof of the extent to which this remarkable movement reached.

abandoned for Fiesole, shortly after the events of 542. On the other hand the chapter of Florence received its first recorded gift of property in 724[1]: a sign that by that time her state, and especially her ecclesiastical organisation, had begun to be restored again. Between these two dates then, and precisely during the course of the seventh century, we are inclined to place the origin of "St. Mary, late Fallows." The *novella* here must have been formed after 542, because these lands could become waste only after the abandonment of the city, and as the consequence of barbarian raids. The religious foundation was, probably, anterior to 724, since as soon as Florence was reorganised ecclesiastically there was no longer any reason to place a chapel here, as those who worked the land at this Novella could easily have attended service in the city. And, finally, it seems most natural, though Fiesole was the real point of departure in this colonising movement, both civil and ecclesiastical, that yet when the Church of Florence was again rich and strong it should have absorbed a closely neighbouring chapelry, which owed its origin to another source. The deed of 983 already referred to, does, in fact, assure us that Santa Maria Novella was at that date among the possessions of the Florentine Chapter.

But even after it belonged to the nearer Cathedral various matters in the records point to another and earlier ecclesiastical connection: that with Fiesole, which we have already ventured to assume.[2] Thus a document of 1072 in speaking of the Church mentions that its property consisted of two parts, the ancient lands and those which had been more recently given to it by the Priest Grimaldo.[3] Now in the clergy lists of these times the only Grimaldo whose date and title seem suitable is a priest of Fiesole mentioned in 1028.[4] This, we must suppose, was the man in question: the benefactor of S. Maria Novella. Here, then, if we are correct, is a confirmation of the Fiesole connection, nor is it at all unlikely that even after it had passed into the possession of the Canons of Florence, this Church should receive endowment from a cleric attached

[1] The lands of Cintoia, to the west of the city. See the document in the Capitular Archives of Florence, No. 631 anno 724. It has been printed by Lami in his 'Memorabilia.'

[2] See on this point the remark in the Appendix on the document of 987.

[3] See the deed in the Archivio Capitolare of Florence, No. 955. The words are:—'terra et ecclesia cuius vocabulum est Sancte Marie que dicitur Novella, tam in antiqua portione quam in ea parte quam Grimaldus Presbyter per cartulam didit prefate Canonice quolibet modo cum omni quod ad se pertinebat et terris vineis et rebus.'

[4] See Ughelli 'Italia Sacra,' Vol. III., p. 229, 'clericus Grimaldus.'

to the older see. If it really did so the case may be almost exactly paralleled by that of San Martino. This latter Church, which still stands near the centre of Florence, and is often visited as the scene of Dante's marriage, was founded and richly endowed in 986 by Giovanni, Archdeacon of Fiesole.[1] In 1017 the nephew of this Giovanni, who was no less a personage than Regembaldo, Bishop of Fiesole, still further enriched his uncle's foundation, which in memory of his gifts was thereafter styled San Martino del Vescovo—not of Florence, observe, but of Fiesole.[2] This date would correspond pretty nearly with Grimaldo's benefaction to Santa Maria Novella, and the case of San Martino enables us to understand in some degree the possibility of what at first sight seems a very improbable thing: the endowment of a Florentine Church, such as S. Maria had now become, by a priest belonging to Fiesole.

There seems, indeed, to have been a certain relation between this Church, San Martino del Vescovo, and Santa Maria Novella; for in 1197 when, as we shall afterwards have occasion to study more fully, the Parish of the latter Church rose in a kind of civil war against the Canons of Florence, demanding the right to choose their own Rector, the people of San Martino did the like on their own account.[3] Now we know that the see of Fiesole had claimed some kind of jurisdiction in San Martino,[4] and the fact that Santa Maria Novella joined in the movement by repudiating at the same time the pretensions of the local chapter would seem to suggest that it also must have had an ancient connection with Fiesole.

Again, in the year 1210, when there was a dispute between the Prior of San Donato de Turri and the Rector of Santa Maria Novella, the arbiter appointed by the Pope to act as his delegate in settling the case was no member of the Florentine clergy, but one of the Canons of Fiesole.[5]

Even after the coming of the Dominicans the same connection was kept up. Before 1350 no fewer than three Bishops of Fiesole came

---

[1] See the deed in Puccinelli.

[2] See Lami 'Lezioni,' I., p. 293.

[3] See Davidsohn 'Geschichte von Florenz,' I., pp. 611, 612. The quarrel of S. M. N. was with the Chapter; that of San Martino with the monks of the Badia to whom it belonged.

[4] See deed of gift to this Church by Bishop Regembaldo, where he says 'gregi mihi commisso non solum presenti verum etiam futuro subvenire curavi.'—Lami 'Lezioni,' I., p. 293.

[5] Archivio di Stato, Florence, Pergamene di S. M. Novella.

from Santa Maria Novella.[1] This of itself is not so remarkable perhaps, but when we find that one of these in 1311 held an ordination of priests for his diocese in this Church ;[2] that another consecrated the upper cemetery of Santa Maria Novella in 1323,[3] and that all three chose this Church as the place of their burial, we find it difficult to suppose that there is not something more in all this than the mere attachment of friars to the Convent where they were trained. It seems rather the natural persistence of a relation which from the very earliest times had connected Santa Maria Novella with Fiesole : a relation, we cannot help thinking, much closer than the perhaps somewhat formal bond which ever since 983 had made it appear among the possessions of the nearer see of Florence.

Returning then to the seventh century and the first establishment of Santa Maria Novella, let us try and form a more exact idea of the place and Church as they must have then appeared. We have already supposed the torrent of the Mugnone to have been the guiding line of the emigration from Fiesole. In these early days the course of this stream was somewhat different, at least in the lower part, from that which it follows at present : it flowed by San Lorenzo and fell into the Arno much farther to the east than it now does.[4] The *Novella* in question, then, was a farm lying near this stream, and consisting of cultivated lands including the site of the present Church and Convent. As in other cases, there must have been farm buildings of one kind or another, and these most probably took the form of a *curtis :* that is, they were built round the sides of a square court. This arrangement was found convenient, as in times of peace it gave shelter to the cattle, and when war threatened the place could be easily defended. A road of access, too, there must have been, from north to south : being, in fact, the highway along the banks of the Mugnone connecting Fiesole with the Arno, and serving as the main line of communication along which these early colonies rose. The Chapel at the curtis was probably a simple

[1] Fra Corrado della Penna dei Gualfreducci ; Messer Tedice degli Aliotti, and Messer Fuligno di Ulivieri Carboni.

[2] See Lami ' Memorabilia,' c. 262.

[3] MS. Strozzi P.P., p. 15 in Archivio di Stato Florence. Note also that Diacceto, Bishop of Fiesole, Aug. 25, 1592, consecrated the High Altar and many others in this Church, and that Fra Jac. Altoviti, also Bishop of Fiesole, was buried here in 1416 (Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. II., IV., 324).

[4] See Passerini ' Curiosita Fiorentine,' p. 95.

apartment in the farm buildings themselves, and we may think of it as situated at one corner of the court where those coming from a distance could have ready access to it from the road. It was dedicated we know to the Virgin.

These conjectures would have little value as a fantastic reconstruction of the earliest Santa Maria Novella, were it not that an attentive observer will find them strangely confirmed by certain general features of the buildings even as they stand in our own day. The recollection of these by those to whom they are quite familiar, the study of a ground plan, or, best of all, a visit to the place itself, will show that to a quite surprising degree it is still possible to see here the exact site and main lines of the farm colony and Chapel of early times.

At the foot of the stairs leading down from the west transept of Santa Maria Novella to the level of the Burial Vault below, we find ourselves in front of a small open space, shut off by a railing, and devoted, ever since the Dominican occupation, to the burial of the Friars. The oldest writers on the Church and Convent unite in describing this part of the buildings as very ancient; 'the first cloister' they call it.[1] It was, therefore, the nucleus about which all the rest gradually gathered. There can be little doubt then that the buildings we now see on the south, west, and north of this open space, have risen on the site of those which, ages before, formed the original and secular Curtis—the farmyard of the Novella; or that the Burial Vault itself preserves the line of a very ancient road, which must once have given access to the place. It is a rare thing for a road, if once used for any considerable time, to disappear entirely, or for an open space, if of moderate size and closely surrounded by buildings, to be quite lost even in the course of ages, and this not from any principle or conscious purpose of preserving them, but merely at the bidding of natural convenience: a much more constant and potent factor. To its operation in this case we owe the possibility of seeing to-day, in at least their site and general disposition, the buildings which in early times formed the *Curtis* of Santa Maria Novella.

And if at this point we may be allowed to call tradition to our aid, it becomes possible to fix with a reasonable degree of precision, considering that the place itself has quite perished, the original Chapel of the Virgin in its ancient site and surroundings. If we follow to the south-

[1] Vasari, Vol. I., p. 449 (ed. Milanesi, 1878), with Milanesi's note, which says 'l'antichissimo chiostro del convento.'

ward the course of the old road, now the Burial Vault, and cross the Chiostro Verde to its farther side, we shall find ourselves opposite the Spanish Chapel, and able to view it completely from the ground to the roof-line. Now, somewhere on that site stood the early Chapel of the Virgin, forming part of the farm buildings on the south side of the Curtis. For Padre Marchese tells us that when in the fourteenth century Guidalotti asked the Dominicans for ground on which he might build them a new Chapter House—the same which in later days became the Spanish Chapel—they gave him a site where still stood 'a little chapel adjoining the old Church of Santa Maria Novella.'[1] Now the 'old church,' as we shall afterwards see, is that which still in part remains on the east of the Burial Vault and forms the substructure of the existing Sacristy. On the Sacristy roof may be seen a short marble column, with an inscription which tells us it was set here to mark the site of the 'old church.'[2] A similar column, but smaller and uninscribed, stands on the roof of the Spanish Chapel. Is it possible to resist the inference that this was meant to mark the site of the still older Chapel just as the other did that of the ancient Church? This conclusion seems the more certain, as the place where the column stands agrees exactly with Padre Marchese's account of the traditional site.

A confirmation of this view may be found, too, in a lunette on the north side of the Great Cloister, where there is a sixteenth century fresco representing the transfer of Santa Maria Novella in 1221 to the Dominicans. The deed of gift says, 'Church and Chapel,' and the artist has accordingly, with singular fidelity to his text, sought to represent, not indeed the original buildings, which in his day had long disappeared, but the traditional site of Church and Chapel as it appeared in the sixteenth century. In the background there stands the very prospect which we have supposed ourselves to see from the south side of the Green Cloister: the entrance-arch and diminishing perspective of the Burial Vault. This has given rise to the vain fancy on the part of some writers that the Sepolcreto itself formed part of the ancient

[1] Padre V. Marchese 'Memorie,' Vol. I., p. 143; 'Buonamico di Lapo Guidalotti, mercante Fiorentino, acquistata una piccola Cappella contigua alla Chiesa Vecchia di S. M. Novella, fece porre le fondamenta del vasto Capitolo.'

[2] The inscription runs:—'Veter. Ecclesie Signum esto, 1479 C.P.I.F.M.S.I.L.,' as reported in Richa 'Chiese Fiorentine,' Vol. III., p. 26. The initials may be read: 'curaverunt ponendum in futuræ memoriæ signum juxta locum.'

Church,[1] but we may rather follow the suggestion of the memorial columns in holding that the vault was painted in this fresco, not as belonging in itself to the matter in hand, but because the one side of it was formed by the Old Church, and the other by the still more ancient Chapel of the Virgin attached to the original *Curtis.*

Thus, then, as we look at them, the Spanish Chapel disappears, and the Burial Vault to the east lies open, and instead we see a little group of farm-buildings gathered on the north and west and south of the Friars' burial-ground, thus restored to its original condition as the farm-yard of the ancient Curtis. The fourth, or eastern side of this little square is bounded by the road running north and south as it ought to do, and on this road, at the south-east corner of the court, opens the Chapel of the Virgin. Such was the site, and such the state, of Santa Maria Novella in the earliest times.

[1] See Fineschi 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., p. 129. On the west side of the Burial Vault, and close to the arch opening upon the Green Cloister, will be found an old piece of carved stone, which Fineschi ('Memorie sopra il Cimitero') calls a shrine, but which with its pediment and pinnacles much more nearly resembles the architrave of a narrow and ancient door. This has been painted in the lunette of the Great Cloister already referred to, where, however, the Tornaquinci arms, and those of Florence, have been added to the sculptures of the Padre Eterno and the Virgin and Child actually found on the stone itself. There is little doubt, therefore, that in the sixteenth century this was regarded as a relic of the most ancient Santa Maria Novella, and such it may very probably have been. It is not necessary to suppose the carving older than the thirteenth century, for the ancient Chapel remained here till 1350. With this stone may be connected another and smaller early carving, nearly opposite it on the east side of the vault, which shows the Virgin and Child over the Cavalcanti arms. This may also be a relic of the old Chapel.

CHAPTER II.

The First Church.

WHATEVER may be thought of the tradition that Fiesole fell under the power of Florence in the year 1010, and that most of its inhabitants returned thereafter to the latter town, there can be no doubt that Florence rose to a new importance during the eleventh century. Towards the close of that age the suburbs had so increased that in 1078 it was found necessary to enclose them by the building of another and wider circuit of walls. On the north-west these now ran from the Basilica of San Lorenzo by the line of the Via del Giglio and the Via del Moro to the Arno at the Carraia Bridge, and were defended on the outside by a moat in which the complacent current of the Mugnone was now made to flow for the further security of the town.[1]

It is easy then to see how closely suburban Santa Maria Novella had thus become. At the point where the Via Panzani touches the Via del Giglio the Mugnone was crossed by a bridge, one arch of which might still be seen at the close of the eighteenth century, not to say that a hundred years later some vestiges of it were once more discovered in the course of works undertaken here in our own time.[2] This bridge carried a road leading from one of the gates in the new wall—the Porta Baschiera—directly to Santa Maria Novella, so that the place was accessible, not only to those living on these lands themselves, but also to the inhabitants of the neighbouring quarter of the city now enclosed by the new wall.

These changes had their natural effect on the subject of our study, and we have now to deal with a period when Santa Maria Novella ceased to be a simple Chapelry and assumed the new dignity of a suburban

[1] Passerini, 'Curiosità Fiorentine,' p. 95. [2] *Ibid.*

Church and Parish. Signs of this state of affairs occur sufficiently early. The documents speak simply of 'Santa Maria Novella' till the year 1072 when the title 'Ecclesia' appears for the first time, and it is repeated in 1076.[1] Taken in conjunction with what follows, these hints are enough to mark the middle of the eleventh century as the time when this place of worship rose to a higher and more important position in the diocese.

We should expect to find that this altered state of things left material traces of itself at Novella. The original Chapel of the Virgin might serve well enough as a place of worship for those who lived at the curtis or on the adjoining lands, but the case was different now. With a new proximity to the town, a growing population, and a recognised ecclesiastical position, Santa Maria Novella must have a Church suitable to these altered circumstances, able to contain a larger number of worshippers and worthy of her late-won dignity. Such an idea was above all natural in an age of civic progress when Florence was spreading and spending in every direction, and when from these very lands of Novella the new walls could be seen rising daily to remind both citizens and neighbours that building and extension were the order of the day.

And just at this point the liberality of Priest Grimaldo intervened: we may believe with decisive effect. As the date of his gift is uncertain we do not know whether or not it was the cause of the change in the ecclesiastical position here, though it is at least remarkable that the document which records his gift is the first in which Santa Maria Novella is called a Church.[2] But as that gift took the form of a donation of land, we may be allowed to connect it closely with the new building that presently rose at Novella. For either this land was close by, in which case it might furnish the site, or if at a distance its proceeds were still available to meet the necessary expenses of construction. In any case it is certain that at some time during the twenty years that followed 1072 the builders of Santa Maria Novella crossed the road that ran by the curtis and built on a site immediately opposite the old chapel a new Parish Church which was duly consecrated in the year 1094.

Fortunately the original Act of Consecration has been preserved, and from it we learn that the ceremony took place on the 30th of October by the hands of Rainerius, Bishop of Florence, assisted by Seniorellus the Archpresbyter, Theudaldus 'who led the singing so sweetly,' the Priests Don Gerardus, Teuzo, Rolandus, Rembertus of San Paolo and Benedictus

[1] See Appendix.

[2] See document of 1072 in Appendix.

of Sant' Andrea and the Deacon Rodulphinus, and in presence of 'an innumerable multitude of people.' The Act goes on to say that the Bishop, having dedicated the Church to the Blessed Virgin and to St. Agatha in the High Altar, and to St. Stephen and St. Martin in the other, did then according to use and wont call upon the people to endow their new place of worship. Whereupon stood forward Florentius Battisagina, the Grandee, and offered the tithes of all his lands lying about the Church, in which liberality he was followed by the brothers-german Joannes, Donatus, Florus and Petrus, the sons of Ildiza, whose property also lay here. And the Act, or Brief as it is called, closes with what sounds like a reminiscence of one of the prayers used on this occasion:— 'Accept therefore,' it says, 'Most Holy, Glorious and Ever Virgin Mary the notable gifts of these men and requite their souls for what they have offered, and deign to hear all the Priests and Clergy, who in this thy most Holy Church do devoutly serve thee, when they cry to thee and to St. Agatha, St. Stephen, and St. Martin, for their souls.' The last words of the Brief are those of a solemn imprecation which perhaps on that high day Bishop Rainieri uttered from the Altar with bell, book and candle:— 'If therefore anyone annul the grants that these have made, let him be accursed and Anathema and excommunicate, and let him have his part with Dathan and Abiram unless he repent and restore what he sought to destroy.'[1]

The new Church did not, however, take the place of the old Chapel, being built on another though closely adjoining site. From this time onwards then the two co-existed, and we find proof of this in the documents of the twelfth century where Santa Maria Novella is constantly given the double title of 'Ecclesia et Cappella' or 'Ecclesia et Oratorium.'[2] This is the fact of which we have already made use in assuming that the original place of worship, which thus continued to exist at Novella after the Parish had been constituted and the first Church built, was a simple Chapelry. Both Church and Chapel belonged, as we have said, to the Florence Chapter, and their history therefore down to the coming of the Friars of St. Dominic in 1221 offers a natural and easy division. We have to speak first of the Church and Parish, next of the Canonry here, and lastly of the questions which emerged out of the relation between these two, and especially of the Rectors of Santa Maria Novella to the Cathedral Chapter.

[1] See document in Appendix.

[2] See Appendix, *passim*.

As to the first of these we have to say in brief that the good example set by Battisagina and the sons of Ildiza on the consecration-day was soon followed by other benefactors, and that the story of this Church and Parish during more than fifty years was one of constant increase and prosperity. The documents tell us of repeated gifts of land to Santa Maria Novella, and are not without interest, as they make us acquainted with many names of persons and places, and introduce us to the parish life of the time.[1] The family of Ildiza appears to have continued its interest in Santa Maria Novella. In this they were joined by the sons of John the Smith, a nun called Nicta, Reinaldus de Siscalco and others; and we hear of the house and cemetery by the church; of the Arco, which was probably part of the ancient Roman Aqueduct coming into the city from the north-west; the Ponte Petrino, the Croce al Trebbio, and other places, and find that the Church grew steadily not only in material prosperity but in social consideration: its charter-chest being chosen for the safe keeping of at least one public deed having no reference to its own property, but in which the Consuls of the adjoining Porta San Pancrazio were concerned.[2]

This happy progress received a check towards the close of the twelfth century. The Rector at this time was a certain Gerardo, and we find that in 1195 he thought himself obliged to borrow money for the Church on the security of some lands belonging to Santa Maria Novella. These lay at a considerable distance to the west, at a place called Polverosa near San Donato, and probably formed the limit of the Parish in that direction. They had been given to Santa Maria Novella some time previously, and were confirmed to the Church in 1193 by Forzittus to whom they belonged.[3] The debt incurred by Gerard had important consequences, of which it is not now the time to speak—they will be dealt with in a later chapter. At present it is enough to say that the trouble in which the Church was involved did not prove a lasting source of mischief. Under the Rectorship of Paul, the successor of Gerard, matters improved considerably. The documents show that in the year 1209 this priest, who must have had considerable business capacity, devised and carried out a feuing plan of great ability. The feu charters show an attention to sanitary details quite surprising for the time; the funds of the Church benefited at once by the sale of sites for building to the amount of one

[1] See Appendix, *passim*.

[2] See document of 1180 in Appendix.

[3] See document of 1193 in Appendix.

hundred and thirty-one *solidi*, and secured an annual income from the feus of thirty-nine *denarii*.[1] And there was a still more beneficial result of this enterprise. The ground feued lay near the Church, at the south end of what was called the Borgo Santa Maria Novella, now the Via Valfonda, and as it was let for the building of private houses, the scheme had the effect of attracting new inhabitants to the Parish, and still further increasing its value as ecclesiastical property. Santa Maria Novella was therefore at the height of its fortunes when in 1221 'Church and Chapel' changed hands, and became the seat of the Dominican Order in Florence.

We cannot close this chapter without saying something about the Parish boundaries and the Church building of Santa Maria Novella in this its first period. As to the Parish, a dispute between the Rector and the Priest of a neighbouring Church, which happened in 1210, enables us in some degree to understand its limits.[2] The eastern boundary was, of course, the town wall and the course of the Mugnone, from the Porta Baschiera to a point near the Croce al Trebbio. Thence, on the south, the limit ran across the site of the present Piazza westward and passed on behind the north side of the Via della Scala, then called the Borgo San Paolo. The Parish extended so far into the country as to include the lands of Polverosa which lay beyond the present Ponte alle Mosse, and its northern limit returned thence to the Porta Baschiera by a line which must have been drawn so as to embrace the Via Valfonda, as that street was then known as the Borgo Santa Maria Novella. It is worth notice that the document speaks of a number of houses which apparently at this date stood on the site of the present Piazza. These were not cleared away till about the year 1300 or later,[3] and their inhabitants, many of whom the deed names, together with those of the Borgo and Polverosa and the intermediate lands, must have made the Parish of Santa Maria Novella sufficiently populous.

As to the Church of 1094, the inscribed pillar we have already noticed on the Sacristy roof[4] sufficiently indicates its site, and this indication is fully confirmed by an examination of the place itself, for the existing substructure of the Sacristy proves to be none other than the lower

[1] See documents of 1209 in Appendix.

[2] See Appendix.

[3] See Fineschi 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., pp. 257 *et seq.* (anno 1287), and a deliberation of the Priors of Florence, August 12, 1310, in the Archivio di Stato of Florence Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

[4] See *ante*, p. 10.

part of the very building in question. A small iron door opening from the Green Cloister just to the east of the Burial Vault gives access to this place, now used as a store for the Church ladders and seats,[1] and when our eyes have grown accustomed to the gloom of these almost subterranean vaults we can see plain traces of what must have been their original form and division. The Church was a simple oblong, consisting internally of a nave of some width with a narrower aisle on each side. The pillars and low arches of the roof belong, of course, to another order of things ; they are the under-building contrived in the fourteenth century or later to support the Sacristy floor. But that the ancient plan of nave and aisles running east and west and having no relation to what lies above can be so clearly made out from the arrangement of the supports proves that these must stand just where the nave and aisle columns once did. Indeed we are tempted to suppose that this has come about in the most natural way of all : the square masses of brickwork now visible having been simply built round the bases of the ancient pillars to reinforce them.

The breadth of the Church then was just what we find it to-day when we measure this vault from the door to the opposite wall : a distance which of course corresponds to the length of the Sacristy which rests upon it. The length we should expect to be greater, and Padre Carli, who lived and wrote in Santa Maria Novella during the fifteenth century, says that the old Church reached as far as the middle of the present nave.[2] An exploration of these vaults even as they now stand will show that in the south-east corner they extend a good way—say seven long paces—beyond the east wall of the Sacristy, so that when we have gone as far as we can in this direction we stand well under the nave itself. Thus in a rough way it is possible to recover the ground plan and general arrangement of the first Church of Santa Maria Novella.

The High Altar is traditionally said by Padre Carli to have stood under where is now the small side window of the Sacristy. This agrees well with what the vaults show, as such a position would fall at the west

[1] And particularly in Lent for the growing of blanched vetches for the Easter 'Sepulchres.'

[2] See Fineschi 'Memorie Storiche,' Vol. I., p. 9, where P. Carli is quoted as saying :—'Erat autem ea Ecclesia admodum parva, et ad occidentem sita, protendebatur vero illam Plateam versus quam nos Veterem appellamus utque coniecturari possumus ex his vestigiis quae prioris Ecclesiae remanserunt. Altare illius erat sub minori fenestra eius Sacelli quod Sacristiam dicimus ; longitudo vero ad medium usque Chori quod nunc cernimus erat, novum Sacellum versus quod Puritatis dicunt a nobili nuper Ricasolorum familia aedificatum.'

end of the nave here, and just where we can still see a broad and shallow cavity in the wall. The orientation then was westward : the faces of the worshippers being turned towards the still older Chapel of the Novella, which lay across the road. The deed which transferred Santa Maria Novella to the Dominicans was signed in the Choir of this Church,[1] but there is no sign of any external apse, nor would the conditions of the site have admitted one ; closely bounded as it was by the road on the west. We are therefore inclined to suppose that the chancel was small and altogether internal, and that a rood screen must have marked the separation of priest and people. The architecture of the Church would, no doubt, be that proper to its age, in a simple Lombard style, of which some traces still remain in the south-west corner of the vaults where the masonry is exposed, and where the under part of a narrow window may yet be seen. We may fancy that, according to the custom of the time, its principal stones, and some of its columns, may have been quarried from the adjacent Roman Theatre, which antiquaries say stood near the Croce al Trebbio.[2]

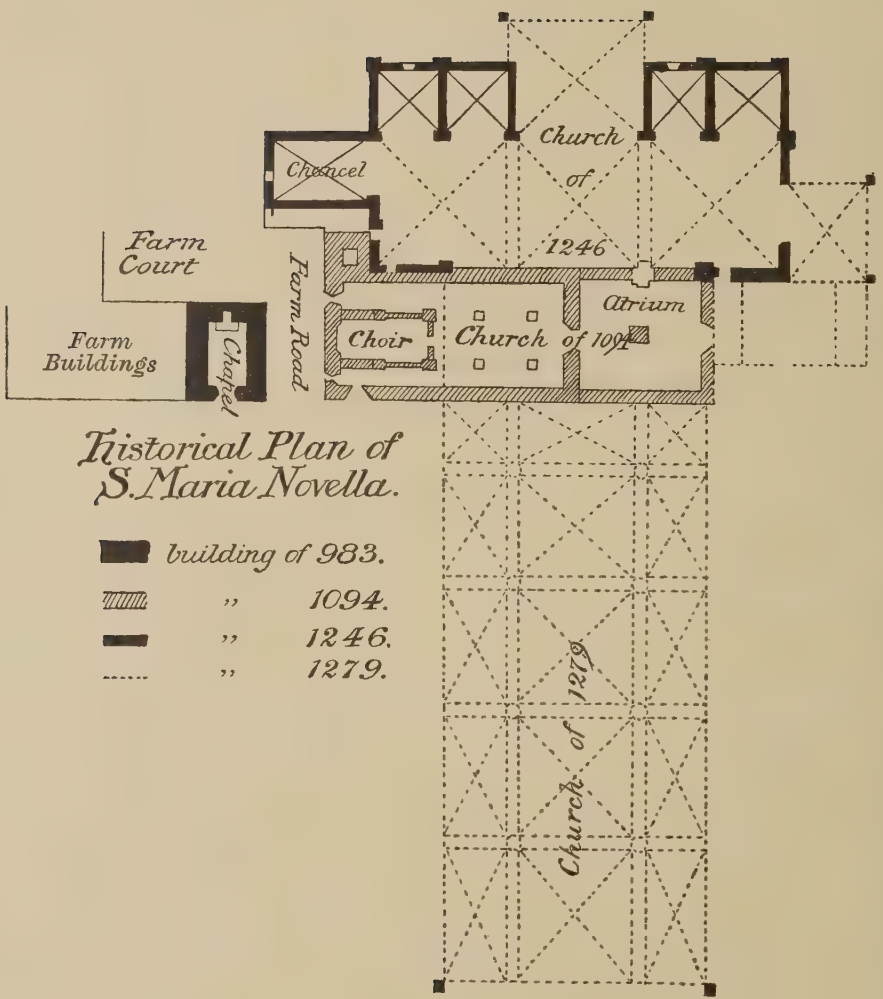
As to the matter of decoration, the walls would be plastered internally and covered with mural paintings. This we may feel sure of, not only on grounds of general likelihood, but on the direct testimony of Padre Richa, who saw the remains of these ancient frescos still existing in the eighteenth century.[3] The principal dedication was to the Virgin, whose figure must have appeared in the high altarpiece. This picture has not been preserved, but Manni enables us to recover the lines of the lost *ancona* in his remarks on the ancient seal of Santa Maria Novella. In this seal he says the Virgin appeared in her most antique form, namely, alone, and without the Divine Child.[4] So must she have stood in the lost altarpiece, another reminiscence of which may, perhaps, be

[1] See Appendix, sub anno 1221.

[2] See the 'Discorsi' of Don V. Borghini, P. I., p. 170 *et seq.*

[3] 'Chiese Fiorentine,' Vol. III., p. 26 *et seq.*, where he speaks of an ancient chapel under the Sacristy, used for lumber, 'ma che ha ne' lati alcune pitture a fresco sulla parete . . . si vede l'intonaco, e sotto questo apparìsce un altra più antica pittura di maniera goffissima' ; also Gargiolli 'Description de la Ville de Florence,' 1819, Vol. I., p. 188, who says :—'Au dessous de la Sacrestie se trouve une ancienne Chapelle ornée de plusieurs fresques : le crépe ayant été en quelque endroit écrouté, a mis à decouvert d'autres peintures bien plus anciennes, et d'un genre tres grossier. On pretend que c'est ici où existait la petite Eglise accordée en 1221 au Bienheureux Jean de Salerne et à ses douze confrères, qui s'appellait Ste Marie *delle V'gne*, et qui était alors hors de la Ville.'

[4] 'Sigilli,' Vol. II., No. I., p. 10.



Historical Plan of S. Maria Novella.

building of 983.
" 1094.
" 1246.
" 1279.

found in the central figure of the choir window in the present church, which has also been drawn on ancient lines. And there is preserved in the Sacristy of the Spanish Chapel a very old painted crucifix—it can hardly be later than the twelfth century—which may probably have stood on the rood screen of the first Church, if, indeed, it did not belong to the still older Chapel of the Virgin, which, we must remember, stood untouched on its original site to the westward, till the Spanish Chapel took its place.

The principal entrance of the Church would be opposite the high altar, and, therefore, in the middle of the east wall, which, as we have seen, stood out as far as the centre of the present nave, though at a lower level.[1] Before it, and still further eastward, lay an atrium, or open court, says Padre Fineschi,[2] and he is right, for we find the place mentioned in a document of 1197.[3] This court would lie towards the right bank of the Mugnone, and it must have communicated with the road leading from the Baschiera Gate westward across the Ponte Petrino.[4] The whole seems contrived to afford an easy, and at the same time imposing entrance to the Church from the neighbouring quarter of the city. Near the gate of the atrium must have stood the laurel grove, which gave the Porta Baschiera its alternative name. And thus, by waving leaves and winding waters, past the green enclosure of the atrium with its lines of Lombard arches, the worshippers found their way from Florence to the Santa Maria Novella of 1094.

This westward access by the atrium disappeared in its first form about the year 1300, when the present Church was completed. But so strong was the united force of habit and convenience, that for long afterwards the congregation came to Church not by way of the new Piazza, and the south door as at present, but by the upper cemetery, and an entrance in the east side of the nave which was only closed by Vasari in 1565. Even yet, the access by the cemetery and the Chapel of the Pura allows a partial adherence to the old habit.

Two important features of the establishment of 1094 remain to be

[1] See *ante*, p. 17, testimony of Padre Carli.

[2] See his 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero di S. M. N.,' and Decennale I. Sec. I. of Baldinucci, who uses the words cortile and vestibolo of this space.

[3] See Appendix. It is doubtful, however, whether the reference is not rather to the Atrium of S. Reparata.

[4] 'Andandosi dalla Città addirittura per la Porta che si diceva del Baschiera e di quivi per la via . . . . veniva l'entrata sua (della Chiesa cioè) principale ad essere volta ad Oriente' ecc. See Cod. Strozz. XR. quoted by Manni 'Sigilli,' II. 9.

described, and that we may complete our conception of the place as it then was, it is necessary that either actually, or in imagination, we should view it once more from the north-west corner of the open space, which still preserves the form and situation of the ancient *curtis*. In front of us, to the east, lies the whole mass of the existing Church, with its tall and graceful campanile rising on the right. As we allow our eyes to travel downward along the nearer angle of this tower, we notice that the line, interrupted for a moment by the roof of the burial cloister and the gallery it carries, falls finally upon the north-west corner of just that underbuilding of the Sacristy which we have been considering as the first Church of Santa Maria Novella. The campanile as it stands was built, like the adjoining Sacristy, in the fourteenth century, but Padre Fineschi tells us that it was raised not upon foundations of its own, but on the main walls of the old Church.[1] This statement needs some correction, indeed, as we find that the foundations of the tower fall outside the lines of the Church proper, though they closely adjoin it. But when we learn from one of the documents that Santa Maria Novella had already a campanile in the twelfth century, the exact state of matters reveals itself at once. The later or present campanile was built not only upon the walls of the Church, but also upon those of the tower which adjoined it, just as the Sacristy was upon the Church itself. And that these foundations were strong enough to carry the existing campanile with all its height and mass, shows that the tower of 1094 must have been one of considerable size and importance. The bells which it carried are mentioned in a document of the twelfth century.

Looking across then to this the north-west corner of the old Church from our point of observation in the Friars' Cemetery, we can fancy how the tower once rose with the Church roof beyond. About us is the court-yard of the Novella. In front, between us and the Church, runs the road, now represented by the line of the Sepolcreto or Burial Vault. Till the alterations brought about in the middle of the nineteenth century by the need of an approach to the new railway station, this burial vault had another branch running at right angles to it, eastward, from its northern end.[2]

[1] In his unpublished Life of Archbishop Saltarelli of Pisa, MSS. dei Conventi Soppressi F. 5. 491, in the Bibl. Naz., Florence.

[2] See the 'Sepoltuario' of Rosselli, 1647, MS. in the Bibl. Naz., Florence; Fineschi 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero di S. M. N.,' and especially the folio volume of plans of the Convent in the Archivio di Stato, MSS. of Santa Maria Novella, No. 107.

This also in all probability preserved the line of an ancient road which must have lain parallel to the north wall of the old Church, though at some little distance from it. Observe then that we thus recover a determined and oblong space of ground lying beside the old Church to the north and nearly represented by the present transepts, which are in fact built over it. Now many indications incline us to find in this piece of ground the original churchyard of Santa Maria Novella which is mentioned as early as the year 1105.[1] The Sepolcreto in both its branches was a vaulted survival of this cemetery contrived in times when the main part of the burial ground had been built over. But in the earlier age with which we are now concerned the Sepolcreto was not yet; and we must fancy, as we look from our chosen point of view, a green field lying to the north of the Church marked here and there with the memorial stones of the dead. On the right it forms a pleasant foreground for the long perspective of campanile, Church and atrium which lie beyond; on the left it is itself bounded by vineyards, fields, and gardens belonging, some to the Church and some to private owners whose towers form a picturesque background as they mark in the distance the line of the Borgo. Court and Chapel, Church and Campanile and cemetery, so ordered and so surrounded, such was the Santa Maria Novella of the twelfth century.

[1] See *infra*, Part II., where the building of the second Church is discussed.

CHAPTER III.

The Canonry.

WE have already seen that the earliest document referring to Santa Maria Novella is dated in the year 983 and confirms it as one of the possessions of the Cathedral Chapter of Florence.[1] Successive deeds of the same kind attested the rights of the Canons here down to the time when Santa Maria Novella became a Parish and Church, nor was the series even then interrupted; it continued during the whole of the twelfth century, and the matter was finally vouched for at the very moment when these rights were at length relinquished by the Act of 1221 which handed over the lands and buildings to the Dominicans: 'consentientibus canonicis.'[2]

Now who were these Canons to whom Santa Maria Novella belonged? In the earliest times canons were the secular priests serving the Parish Churches of the city where the Bishop had his see. To a certain extent this state of things persisted in Florence during the period with which we are concerned, that is to say, we do not find the names of country clergymen among those of the Chapter. In 1197, for example, those mentioned are such as the Prior of San Lorenzo, Ildebrandino Giuochi; the Prior of Santo Stefano, Bonus, who was also at this date Provost of the Chapter; the Prior of San Pietro, and a certain Ranieri, of whom we find that, beginning life as a servant of the Chapter he afterwards became Canon.[3] In those days indeed men in the minor orders, such as Readers, Singers, and even Porters, were reckoned among the Canons.[4] The ultimate title of Ranieri was that of Prior of San Giovanni.

[1] See *ante*, p. 3, and the Appendix. [2] See Appendix. [3] See document in Appendix.

[4] Thomass. 'Vet. et Nov. Discip.,' l. ii., 34, and Bingham, i. v. § 10.

Probably the reason which excluded country clergy from the Chapter may have been the habit of life in common which from early times distinguished the order of Canons, and so distinctively that Borghini supposes their very name to have been derived from the Canon or Rule under which they lived.[1] Coming to the particular diocese of Florence, this antiquary points to a deed of the latter half of the tenth century in which St. Poggio, Bishop of Florence, resumed possession of the little Abbey Church of St. Andrea all' Arco from Ugo, Marquis of Tuscany, who seems to have held it temporarily *in commendam:* and this the Bishop did for the express purpose of applying the revenues of St. Andrea to defray the cost of a common table for the Canons.[2] And in fact the full title of these clergy, as proved by many ancient documents, was that of the Canons Regular of the Church and House of San Giovanni, San Zanobi or Santa Reparata, for thus we find them variously designated.[3] Taking account of the great popularity of the monastic orders in these days we have no difficulty in thinking that the approach to a regular Rule seen in the common life of the Canons may have done much to encourage the liberality of those who endowed the Chapter of Florence with so many valuable possessions. In this liberality Bishop Speciosus led the way, and it is worth note that his gift in 724, as well as the later donation of St. Poggio, was intended for the support of the *Mensa:* the Canons' common table.[4]

Now this community of life implied of course a house or college where it might be led, and with regard to the Canonry of Florence Borghini tells us that in a deed of the year 1050 he finds a cloister adjoining the Cathedral called the Canonica.[5] We are to understand then that the Canons of this city lived hard by Santa Reparata in a cloister on the south of the Church where the Piazza now is.[6] For in 1294, when the existing Cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore, began to be built, the community of Canons had become a mere tradition, nor was any care taken to include their Cloister in the new plan or to provide a substitute for it.[7] We must travel as far as Perugia to see in the

[1] Borghini 'Discorsi,' P. II., pp. 419, 420. Chrodegang, Archbishop of Metz, in the latter part of the eighth century, was the true founder of this Canonical life, and the Rule was established at the Council of Aquisgrana in 816. For the various explanations given of the name, see Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' *sub voce.*

[2] See the 'Discorsi' of Borghini, P. II., p. 418 *et seq.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 421. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 422. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

[7] See the 'Discorsi' of Borghini, P. II., p. 422.

Canonica still standing beside the Cathedral there the most complete example of what such buildings were.

But if the principal seat of the Cathedral Chapter in the Cloister of Santa Reparata has thus disappeared, we are not altogether without an existing memorial of the ancient Canonical life in Florence. This relic of the past is to be found in Santa Maria Novella, where it would appear that the Chapter turned their property to the purpose of providing themselves with an agreeable villa or country residence. We may smile, to-day, at the idea of a removal from the Cathedral to Santa Maria Novella for the sake of a change of air, but such a thing agreed exactly with the habits of early times, when the distinction between city and country was much more sharply drawn than at present. The cities were small and closely confined by their high walls, and a very short journey indeed, if the traveller passed the gates, would give him fresh air and delicious greenness instead of the crowded houses, narrow lanes, and noisome odours of the town. And Santa Maria Novella fully deserved the name we find given to it in much later times: it lay 'tra le vigne'[1] beyond and yet beside the stream of the Mugnone, and as a country residence was far from despicable, being just such a *curtis* as every Florentine envied, and only the rich landowners possessed: a fair holding set in a bower of green.

Nor is there any doubt that the Chapter so used their possession here. At the close of the twelfth century we find the older parishioners bearing witness that for fifty years back the Canons of Santa Reparata had visited Santa Maria Novella just as the *Signori* did their *corti* or villas in the country, making it a summer residence, or, when their health required a change, going there for medical treatment or blood letting.[2] So, we may remember, did the Rucellai family long afterwards move betimes from their town-house in the Via Vigna Nuova to their villa with its famous garden on the Strada Polverosa.[3] The age was later and yet the distance was hardly, if anything, more than that covered by the Canons' journey from the Cathedral to Santa Maria Novella. Nay, the villa of the Rucellai, lying as it did within the wall of 1297, had become part of the

[1] This name of S. Maria 'tra le Vigne,' freely applied to the ancient Church by many antiquarians is unknown to the documents, and it is not easy to discover why or at what time it was invented.

[2] See document of 1197 in Appendix.

[3] The Via Oricellari was anciently known by this name.

city, whereas at the earlier time of which we speak, Santa Maria Novella was still outside the gates of Florence, and must with its luxuriant vines and rich gardens by the stream have offered a still more striking contrast to the sordid streets and close human contact of the city within the walls. How often must the Canons have given thanks that such a retreat lay close at hand, and was all their own for use and enjoyment.

The delight of the Canons in this possession of theirs was marked by the pains they took and the means they spent to improve and beautify their residence at Santa Maria Novella. The document of 1197, from which so much of our information has been gathered, speaks of a Cloister here, and we find the same expression used in 1222.[1] Now, it is no doubt true that the word 'claustrum' by itself, as it occurs in the latter of these writings, has little or no architectural meaning, since it was freely used of any building—a simple house, for instance, where clergy led a common life under religious rule. But when it is said[2] that on one occasion 'the greater part of the people of the Parish' assembled in 'the Cloister,' we have the right to assume that no mere house is meant, but a cloister indeed; an open space surrounded by ecclesiastical buildings.

To this state, then, had the primitive *curtis* of Santa Maria Novella been raised by the Canons of Florence. In their original condition the buildings here were secular, and stood grouped about three sides of an ordinary farmyard. But how easily such an arrangement lent itself to the change we have indicated! Let pillars be planted around the court, and let the alley between these and the buildings of the farm be covered by vaults resting on both, and behold the Cloister of the Canons' country residence complete. It was entirely consonant with the ideas of the time that the place should thus be made to show its spiritual character in visible form, and become a countrified counterpart of that, doubtless, more elaborate and stately Cloister at Santa Reparata where the Chapter held its habitual seat.

Now of this improvement by the Canons a fragment probably remains still in the narrow and ancient arcade on the north side of the Friars' Burial Ground, where we have already more than once in imagination stood. When the architecture here is compared with the vaulting over the Sepolcreto, it certainly seems much more antique. And there is reason to think that what remains to-day is but a part of a more

[1] See Appendix for both documents. [2] In the document of 1197.

extensive Cloister, which must once have run round all the three sides of the square. Look at the western end of this place, and you will see at once how newer buildings have here been pushed forward beyond the ancient bounds.[1] Examine on the south the north wall of the Strozzi Chapel adjoining that of the Spaniards, and you will notice an arch, now as it were lost in the masonry of the wall, but corresponding with those still free in the opposite Cloister. It would seem then that the arcade once ran here also. Enclosed to form part of the Strozzi Chapel, it has been swept away outright where Guidalotti's wall now boldly takes its place.

So that this point of view at the west end of the open burial ground, where we have already in fancy paused to reconstruct the original court with its ancient Chapel of the Virgin, and to view in imagination as it once stood beyond the old farm-road the building of the first Church, with its Campanile overshadowing the churchyard, also yields suggestions and memories which carry us back to the ancient country residence of the Canons of Sta. Reparata. Looking on what time has left of the ancient arcade, we can see how the place must have appeared when thus cloistered on all three sides, and what a pleasant outlook it must have had on the Church hard by. Here it was that Oliver, Master Wilfrid, Master Ubaldo, Master Constantine, Master Bonfante, and the rest of the Canons took their ease in convalescence and gained health under the hands of the leech, and still more by the benefit of a fresher and finer air. Here, too, as we shall presently see, the chosen representatives of the people, and more than half the parish, gathered to question Rector Gerard about the debt in which he had involved the Church.[2] And here the final Act was done which sounded the knell of the old order in Santa Maria Novella, when, in 1222, a deed was signed handing over to trustees the property of the Church, that the buildings might be altered and enlarged for the accommodation of the Dominicans to whom the place had already passed. But in the twelfth century that hour of change had not yet struck, and Cloister and Church still stood as we have ventured to fancy them, in all the retired amenity of an ecclesiastical Close and its adjoining place of worship, which pious hands had built, and where the chief dignitaries of the diocese did not disdain to pass their tranquil hours in a retreat which their pains had done so much to adorn.

[1] So as to intrude somewhat on the last span of the ancient arcade.

[2] See *infra*, p. 31.

CHAPTER IV.

Canons and Rectors.

THE first Church of Santa Maria Novella and the Cloister there lay so close together that their neighbourhood naturally suggests what has already been mentioned as the last point of our enquiry under this period: the relation between them, that is, between the Rector and Parish on the one side of the road, and the Canons of Sta Reparata on the other.

This is a matter, indeed, which we cannot hope to present with absolute clearness; it can only be developed in a very general way. Even had we lived in the twelfth century itself we should hardly have been better situated for the understanding of it, as there is evidence that even in these days the relation between the Chapter and the Church was so obscure that an appeal to Rome, followed by a legal enquiry, was needful before matters could be put on a satisfactory footing. And of that inquiry the records have only in part been preserved to us, so that we are left in the dark as regards not a few points of considerable interest and importance. These preliminary deductions made, we may now try to do our best with the material at our disposal.

It is plain, to begin with, that whatever may have been the case in the times of the ancient Chapelry, of which we know practically nothing, the first Church of Santa Maria Novella did not at once, or perhaps ever in all its history, gain from the lands belonging to it a sum of money sufficient for the support of religious ordinances there. Hence the request of the Bishop in 1094, that the parishioners should tithe themselves for this purpose; a request which the Act of Consecration tells us was freely responded to.

The Church, then, was maintained here by these tithes, but we may

believe that to this maintenance the Canons of Sta Reparata also contributed their share from the proceeds of the lands belonging to them and included within the Parish.

Now in these circumstances, who were the Patrons of the living? With whom lay the nomination of a Priest to serve the double office of Chaplain and Rector here? Doubtless the Patronage of Santa Maria Novella belonged to the Cathedral Chapter, as the Chapel and Church themselves did, yet, while this might be technically and legally the case, it is not hard to see what a claim the tithe-giving parishioners had to some share in the making of these appointments. It is not necessary to think here of what had in these days already passed almost out of mind: the unassailable principle that the right to choose a Christian minister must belong to the people whom he is to serve in his ministry of Religion. The material conditions of the case at Santa Maria Novella were obviously such as to keep the people's right in plain view. The Rector's stipend was derived at least in large part from the tithes, and these tithes were voluntary contributions which could be, and actually were, withheld[1] when the parishioners felt aggrieved or dissatisfied. So that even the Canons themselves, one must fancy, would feel it necessary to carry the people, and especially the landowners, with them in any appointment which might be made. Hence arose at Santa Maria Novella what may be described as a *condominium* of the Chapter and Parish which found its expression more or less fully in the practice followed when the Church fell vacant and a new Rector had to be appointed. It may, therefore, be worth while to notice in some detail what that practice was.

The first movement seems to have been made by the people, who addressed themselves to the Provost of the Chapter as the Canons' representative, naming the priest whom they wished for Rector. The Provost then gave liberty to elect, but not always without delay or difficulty, from which it would appear that the Chapter must have had at least a practical *veto* at this stage. The right of election, when given, belonged to a few chosen representatives of the Parish and Chapter; in an actual case on record the Provost named two of each of these bodies as electors, and these four transferred in turn their power to one of themselves, who then formally and audibly proclaimed their choice, pronouncing the name of the favoured candidate before the assembled Chapter and

[1] See *infra*, p. 31.

Parish. These elections took place in the Cathedral of Florence, and the formula was curious :—'To the glory of God and of the Provost let us elect N. N. as Rector and Chaplain of Santa Maria Novella.' Thereupon followed a double investment of the new Rector—in the *spirituality* or cure of souls by the *Abbot of the Gate*, who represented the Bishop ; in the *temporality* or benefice, by the Provost as representing the Chapter, and to each of these dignitaries the Rector gave oath of canonical obedience. Finally the Chapter went in procession from the Duomo to Santa Maria Novella, where, in presence of the people, they gave formal possession of his cure to the Rector by seating him in the chair and handing him the keys of the Church. Thus was expressed in fit ceremonial the *condominium* of the Chapter and the people in this Parish.[1]

Under this arrangement affairs went smoothly enough for the most part in the election and institution of a series of Rectors who served Church and Chapel at Santa Maria Novella during the century that followed its consecration as a Parish. 'Petrus presbyter' was 'custos' here in 1117,[2] and he may have been the first incumbent of the charge constituted in 1094. After his time comes a blank in the succession, which the absence of documents prevents our being able to fill up. From about the middle of the century, however, the series recommences with the name of Albertus, who must have been Rector about 1147. After him followed Rembertus, Ugo, Monaldus, and Gerardus, the last of whom it will be recollected is memorable for the difficulties which rose in his time when the Church got into debt.[3] Once and again indeed during these years the Canons found it necessary to make their power felt at Santa Maria Novella through the Provost of the time, who, for example, restored Rector Albert to his cure after he had been unjustly—one witness says—expelled by the people,[4] and who again deprived of his office a certain Presbyter Daniel whom the Parish had elected without his consent.[5] But, on the whole, things worked well. The Rectors frequently came to High Mass in the Cathedral ; the Canons were often seen at Santa Maria Novella, which indeed they visited officially on the feasts of the Virgin every year, and occasions arose when kindly feeling was shown

[1] For all this ceremonial see document of 1197 cited in the Appendix.

[2] See Appendix *sub anno.*

[3] The incumbents' names will be found in the document of 1197 : evidence of Corbizus and Marbeka.

[4] See evidence of Corbizus. [5] *Ibid.*

by the Chapter to the incumbents of this Church, as when Priest Ugo had a lawsuit with Tignoso de Burgo, and the Provost put to pledge for him with the Bishop his own cape of wolf-skin,[1] or when the Canons took the part of another Rector of Santa Maria Novella whose right to a well was disputed by some of the people.[2]

In spite, however, of all this apparent harmony, there was not wanting to the situation that which promised to bring about dispeace at Santa Maria Novella. As a general rule Canons Regular did not live anywhere on the best of terms with the subordinate Clergy of the Diocese.[3] And in the case of this particular Church, if we have not erred in supposing it to have been originally connected with Fiesole, the memory that it was once independent of the nearer city of Florence might be surely trusted to revive and become dangerously operative as soon as any serious difficulty arose.

It was in the year 1195 that the first cloud appeared on the horizon. The Rector of Santa Maria Novella at that time was Priest Gerard, who, it would appear, had formerly been one of the clergy at San Lorenzo.[4] He borrowed a sum of eighteen pounds—no doubt for some ecclesiastical purpose—and as security for the repayment of this sum he pledged land and vineyard at Polverosa belonging to the Church. Sannuto, the principal creditor, was meanwhile to have the use of this property on condition of rendering half the fruits to the Rector.[5]

This was a transaction which the Parish took so much amiss that they held a meeting in the Church and chose commissioners to inquire into the whole matter. These representatives of the people, though laymen, were called 'rectors,'[6] and there is, if we mistake not, a note of defiance in the name. 'This at least,' the people seem to say, 'is an election in which we are supreme, and the Provost has nothing to say.' Further, Gerard was regarded as the creature of the Chapter, and his personal unpopularity was no doubt already in course of being transferred to the body of clergy from which he came and to the Chapter which had appointed him.

[1] See Appendix, document of 1197, evidence of Corbizus.

[2] See Appendix, document of 1197, evidence of Giunta fil. Mikeli.

[3] Robertson's 'Church History,' II., 476.

[4] Document of 1197, evidence of Presbyter Orlandus, who says that at the request of the people the Provost sent for Gerard to San Lorenzo.

[5] See Appendix, document of 1195.

[6] See Appendix, document of 1197, evidence of Bonarota.

Nor did the Rector mend matters when approached by the representatives of the people. One of these was a certain Bonarota, son of Michael, who afterwards reported what had taken place in a very lively way. They met the Rector in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella and taxed him with his conduct in regard to the Church property, but Gerard carried the matter off with a high hand. 'Who are you,' said he, 'to question me? When the Provost and Canons of whom I hold this Church choose to ask, I will be accountable to them.'[1] The result was what might have been expected. Feeling ran so high that tithes were withheld,[2] and we may assume that Gerard's hasty reply gave new point to the popular indignation, and turned it more than ever against the body to which he had so unwisely appealed. He himself must have been regarded as a mere tool of the Chapter, and the events which followed show that the Parish had resolved that when occasion offered they would push their new found powers of election to the utmost, and that the next Rector should be no mere nominee of the Canons, but a man of their own choice.

They had not long to wait. In the autumn of 1195, weighed down perhaps by the debt he had contracted, and vexed by the angry notice taken of it in the Parish, Gerard died.[3] The people's eyes at once turned to a fellow parishioner of their own,[4] who was already in Orders: a certain Priest Paul. Family feuds detached some from the interest of this candidate, they were not on speaking terms with him, but to most he seemed very suitable as a successor to the office that Gerard had left vacant.

The crying scandal of the hour came from the debts left by the late incumbent as a burden on the Church, and Paul, who was much about the place in these days, did not scruple to avail himself of this as a means of recommending his name even to some who were as yet opposed to his candidature. Sannuto, it seems, was not the only creditor, there was another called Bonaccorsi, a brother of Bonarota, the churchwarden. Paul happened one day to meet three of the parishioners in the Church cloister, and promised that if they would support him he would pay off a good part of what was due to Bonaccorsi.[5] To Corbizus, an uncle of this

[1] Document of 1197, evidence of Bonarota. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] He was alive on July 22, the date of the agreement with Sannuto. Between this time and the 'before Christmas' of Presb. Bonus' evidence (doc. of 1197) we have to find time for two meetings in the Church, one with Gerard, the other with Paul his successor.

[4] 'Ut unum de populo,' document of 1197, evidence of Bonarota.

[5] Renaldus Keppia, Bacco della Fica and Ambrogio: see doc. of 1197, evidence of Keppia.

creditor, he said the same thing: thus touching the sorest spot of all.[1] And at another time, meeting in the Church with Bonarota who was just come back from a journey to Sicily, and who questioned him closely in presence of two others from the Parish as to how affairs stood, Paul said: 'I am not yet come to terms with the neighbours about the twenty-two pounds which your brother lent to Gerard, but I shall find means to pay him.'[2] There were eager friends, too, who worked in the same way for the popular candidate: a certain Parisius de Petiolo, for example, promising a 'gonnella' to a parishioner called Mieti if he would favour Paul.[4]

The age was an unscrupulous one, and if these distinctly simoniacal proposals were successful we should not be surprised. It is certain, at least, that the parishioners, eager to assert their rights, elected Paul as their Rector, and that the lay 'rectores' or Churchwardens took action at once, seeking before Christmas, 1195, an interview with the Provost to whom they presented Paul either in name or person that he might be duly confirmed in his office.[4] The Chapter, however, whose feelings had no doubt risen in opposition to this growing resentment of which they had become the object, flatly refused the name proposed to them,[5] and matters thus came to a deadlock, for the Canons were hardly prepared, it would seem, to bring forward a nominee of their own till Paul had been got out of the way.

It was a country clergyman—Maffo, Priest of Filoccole—who managed to bring about, at least for the moment, what the Chapter desired. Consenting to be guided by him, Paul appeared in the Refectory of the Canonica at Sta Reparata, and, reading out of a book which perhaps the astute hand of Maffo had furnished, he made the following declaration:—'I renounce and resign into your hands, Sir Provost, every right and plea I may have in the Church of Santa Maria Novella in respect of my election by the laity to that place. But if I have any right *pro Canonicatû*, I refuse it not, and this I do for your sake.' It was just before the Lent of 1196 that this took place.[6]

The way being thus happily cleared, as they thought, the Canons

[1] Evidence of Corbizus, *ibidem*.

[2] *Ibid.*, evidence of Bonarota.

[3] *Ibid.*, evidence of Mieti.

[4] *Ibid.*, evidence of Presb. Bonus.

[5] Document of 1197, evidence of Presb. Bonus.

[6] Document of 1197, evidence of Presb. Bonus, who says 'mense Martio,' and then corrects himself, saying 'ante Quadragesimam.'

sent two of their number, Canon Ugo and the Prior of San Lorenzo, to attend service at Santa Maria Novella on an early Sunday in Lent.[1] These delegates of the Chapter addressed the congregation, and bade them study to be quiet and to avoid the discord of a contested election. Through the mouth of Paul, however, the Parish replied warning the Canons not to attempt any innovation on the established custom of electing clergy there. It would seem as if the people had more than a suspicion that the Chapter meant to impose upon them a candidate of its own choice.

And in fact what actually took place was this. On the second Saturday in Lent[2] the Provost assembled the Chapter, the Clergy 'of the Gate,' and as many of the Parish as were still unfavourable to Paul. He named as electors two Priests and two laymen, who in their turn chose Ildebrandino Giuochi, Prior of San Lorenzo, as their spokesman, and Giuochi proceeded under the Provost's mandate to declare that a certain Priest Ranieri was their choice, and had been duly elected Rector of Santa Maria Novella. After Ranieri had sworn obedience and received his double investiture according to use and wont, some hours passed, and then at Terce the new Rector set out to take possession of his Church in the company of Priest Orlando and many others. They had got as far as the 'atrium' when suddenly the bells of Santa Maria Novella began to peal out,[3] not in welcome to Ranieri the nominee of the Chapter, but, as they soon heard, in sign that the Parish had once more asserted its independence. This peal of joyful defiance announced in fact that a shrewd counterstroke had been delivered. The people had held an election on their own account, and Priest Paul, in spite of his late renunciation, was once more chosen Rector of Santa Maria Novella.

Face to face with a new and unforeseen difficulty, Ranieri and his supporters retired without even an attempt to accomplish their purpose. For they found that at Santa Maria Novella preparation had been made for the final appeal to arms. The Campanile and other towers, perhaps in the adjacent Borgo, were strongly held with wooden barricades and piles of stones ready to launch upon any assailant. The place was a perfect fortress, and all night the Parish stood to arms, while guards sent

[1] Document of 1197, evidence of Bonarota.

[2] Document of 1197, where Presb. Bonus says, 'sexta hebdomada (Quadragesimæ),' but Pres. Orlandus corrects this to the more precise 'secundo Sabbato Quadragesimæ.'

[3] *Ibid.* See this document *passim*, as many witnesses speak to these facts, which had evidently made a wide impression.

their voices from above upon the darkness, and at the Church door was Truffa with many armed men ready to defend it in the interest of the people and of Paul.[1] Civil war upon an ecclesiastical quarrel was clearly at hand, and the Chapter, perhaps a little uncertain of their rights in Santa Maria Novella, did not feel prepared to meet force with force.

More almost than in this appeal to arms did the boldness of the popular party now appear in the unconcerned demeanour of Paul, their chosen candidate. Only a few days after these stirring events he appeared in the Refectory of the Canons at the Cathedral to repeat his protest that no innovation in the settlement of a Rector should be attempted or would be allowed at Santa Maria Novella.[2] He seems, indeed, to have walked the City freely at this time, and in the Cloister of San Salvatore and elsewhere to have frankly expressed his own view of the situation. 'If the Provost is annoyed,' he said, 'let him come to the house, and lead me out for a little and then bring me in again. He will have from me all the respect to which he is accustomed.'[3] Paul thus swept aside as of no account all objections to himself personally, and represented the difficulty as caused by mere ecclesiastical jealousy eager to maintain at all costs its own barren right of *veto* and empty dignity of investiture. Never would he admit—and here he no doubt represented the genuine feeling of the majority at Santa Maria Novella—that the fundamental right of election lay elsewhere than in the people of the Parish.

Before this bold assertion the Canonical opposition seems to have bowed the head. Ranieri simply disappears, and from Lent till the autumn of 1196 Paul acted as Rector *de facto* if not *de jure*.[4] But one Sunday morning in October two of the Canons, the Prior and Plebanus of Santo Stefano, brought a mandate from the Provost to Santa Maria Novella. It was in time of Service, and they waited till Paul had vested himself and finished the aspersion. Then at the moment of his approach to the Altar to say Mass they interdicted him in name of the Chapter from the performance of that Office. One account says he paid no attention, but another, which is probably more worthy of regard, represents him as yielding the point. 'To please the Provost and Canons I will obey,' he said, and then repeated the remark which seems to have become

[1] Document of 1197, evidence of several witnesses, especially of Giunta fil. Mikeli.

[2] Document of 1197, evidence of Presb. Ranierius.

[3] Document of 1197, evidence of Presb. Ranierius.

[4] Document of 1197, evidence of Bonarota 'ivit ad Presb. Paulum qui iam erat in Ecclesia.'

habitual with him: 'If it content the Provost to expel me by one door and restore me by another he may do so as far as I am concerned,' and so saying laid aside his vestments.[1]

This interdict on the part of the Chapter was probably carried out in view of a plan already maturing to resolve the case peaceably by appeal to the Apostolic See, and when the Legate deputed by the Pope to decide between the parties was actually come to Florence, and his inquiry came into close view, the Chapter took a further step in the direction of asserting their rights. The Provost issued a mandate for another election under which the Chapter and some of the parishioners assembled in the Church of San Giovanni, and a layman of Santa Maria Novella, Renaldus Keppia, nominated Ranieri for the second time as Rector.[2] Some days later the reply of the people was given by Paul in person, who came to the Canons in their Refectory and boldly challenged the Provost for the illegal way in which he was carrying out the election.[3] There was evidently a conflict of opinion on this point which only an independent inquiry and impartial judgment could be expected to reconcile.

The Legate sent for this purpose was Pandulfus, Cardinal Priest of the Church of the twelve Apostles. His court sat for the examination of witnesses on April 29, 1197, in the Episcopal Palace of Florence, and in the minute of proceedings, as on a stage, pass before us these forgotten personages and events of the twelfth century which we have tried to recall to a kind of life in the foregoing account. But this document contains no hint of pleas in law, from which we should infer that the sitting was held merely to collect information which might be of use in deciding the case at Rome, where the Curia would form their own opinion and advise the Pope accordingly. The Bull of Celestine III. deciding the case is dated 1198. In it he names Paul as Rector, receiving him and his Church under direct Apostolic protection, and confirming the ancient *ius parochiale*.[4] The victory of the popular party was complete.

And as we close this chapter it must be briefly said that the fruits of victory were also theirs. If anything of Paul's character can be discerned

[1] Document of 1197, evidence of Presb. Bonus, which is to be preferred to that of Bonarota, the more that Keppia also says there was no celebration.

[2] Document of 1197, evidence of Keppia himself, of Presb. Bonus, and of Presb. Ranierius, who says it took place 'iterum in adventu Dom. Cardinalis.'

[3] *Ibid.*, evidence of Presb. Ranierius.

[4] See Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., p. 12.

in his actions, we know already that he was a strong and determined man. He came into the Rectory under pledges that savoured of simony, but there is at least every reason to think that he was better than his word. The last debt on the Church seems to have been paid off in 1205,[1] and freed from these incumbrances the Rector set himself in the years that followed to the development of his feuing plan by which both the revenue and population of the Parish were notably increased.[2] He was gone before the great change of 1221, but his works lived after him, and Santa Maria Novella had probably never been so prosperous as just at the moment when it passed into the hands of the Dominicans.

[1] See Appendix, *sub anno.*

[2] See Appendix, *sub anno* 1209.

APPENDIX TO PART I.

APPENDIX TO PART I.

Inventory of Documents, a.d. 983–1222.

983. *Jan.* 25.—Privilege of Otho II. to the Canons of Florence who are styled 'Sci. Johannis Ecclesie.' The deed recites their penury, attributing it to the action of the 'Pastores Sce. Flor. Ecclesie' who had given away their property in benefices, 'et, quod deterius est, meretricibus dando' and confirms their right to various possessions, of which the last is 'Sanctam Mariam Novellam,' under the penalty of £100 of good gold. 'Data VIII. kal. Februarii, Anno Dominice Incarnationis DCCCCLXXXIII., Imperii autem D. Ottonis Secundi XVI., Ind. XI. Actum circa Materiam Civitatem feliciter.'

987. *June* 6.—A 'Preceptum in iudicio' by Leo, Imperial Judge, and Hildebrand, Count of Tuscany, with Podio Bishop of Florence and Petrus Bishop of Fiesole and five other Imperial Judges, who, after hearing the Canons of Florence state their claim by the mouth of Hugh their Advocate, confirmed the possessions of the Chapter. The list corresponds exactly with that of 983 and closes with 'Sanctam Mariam Novellam.' 'Anno ab incarnationis (*sic*) Domini nostri Ihu. Xri. nongentesimo octuagesimo septimo, octavo idus Junii, indictione quinta decima.'

These two deeds will be found in the Archivio Capitolare of Florence No. 971. The roll so numbered begins with the original document of 983, to which is glued a parchment containing a copy of that of 987 in very beautiful characters, and closing with the words:—'Exemplata notitia a Petro Diacono secundum antiquum exemplar. Anno Domin. incarnationis millesimo nonagesimo, septimo kal. Septembris, in Claustro Canonicorum, indictione quinta.' There is besides an accurate and legible copy of the first of these two deeds in the Archivio di Stato of Florence, MS. Strozz. A.A.A. = 1244, p. 183.

Thus we note that in four years from the date of the first grant or confirmation the rights of the Chapter were so uncertain that a judicial enquiry was needful to establish them, in which the Bishop of Fiesole was called to act. It is probable that Santa Maria Novella had only of late passed out of his jurisdiction.

998. *July* 6.—Privilege of Otho III. in favour of the Chapter of Florence. The list of their possessions agrees exactly with that of 983, and closes with 'Sanctam Mariam Novellam.' Archivio Capitolare. A copy will be found in the Archivio di Stato, MS. Strozz. A.A.A. = 1244, pp. 159, 160.

1037. Privilege of Conrad II. confirming the possessions of the Chapter and among them 'Sanctam Mariam Novellam.' Archivio di Stato, MS. Strozz. A.A.A. = 1244, p. 168.

1072. *Feb.* 27.—Rodo, Archpresbyter of the Canonica of the Church and House of San Giovanni, and John the Advocate of the Chapter, recite the possessions and rights of the Canons in presence of Domina Beatrice, Duchess of Tuscany. These lay 'infra comitatû Florentino et Fesolano sive Volterano, qui sunt positi infra civitate Florentia et extra civitatem: Terra et Ecclesia cuius vocabulum est Sancte Marie, que vocatur Novella, tam in antiqua portione, quam in ea parte quam Grimaldus Presbyter per cartulam dedit prefate Canonice, quolibet modo, cum omni quod ad se pertinebat, et terris vineis et rebus,' etc. The Duchess laid her ban on these possessions, in a penalty of 2000 gold byzants to be paid as fine by any who should molest the Canons in the use of them. Original in Archivio Capitolare, No. 955. Notice that S. M. Novella now heads the list: a sign of its new importance.

1076. Bull of Gregory VII. confirming the possessions of the Chapter, and among them 'Sanctam Mariam Novellam, *cum rebus suis*': an addition which no doubt refers to the gift of Grimaldus; note also that the expression here is 'Ecclesiam' as in the deed of 1072. Archivio Capitolare No. 954, and Archivio di Stato, MS. Strozz. A.A.A. = 1244, p. 173.

1094. *Oct.* 30.—'Brevem facimus ad memoriam habendum (*sic*) de consecratione Æcclesiae S.S. Virginis Mariae. Dominus et valde Venerabilis Rainerius Episcopus Florentinus consecravit eam, scilicet in honorem eiusdem Sancte Virginis supradictae et S. Agathae in Altari superiori, in alia S. Stephani et S. Martini. Seniorellus venerabilis Archipresbiter, et Theudaldus Cantor dulcissimus ibi fuerunt. De Canonicis plures: Dominus Gerardus Presbiter, et Rodolfinus Diaconus, et Teuzo Presbiter, et Rolandus Presbiter omni laude digni ibi fuerunt, et Rembertus Presbiter S. Pauli et Presbiter Benedictus S. Andreae ibi fuerunt. In ista dedicatione quaesivit Dominus Episcopus, sicut mos est, donum dari Ecclesiae ab hominibus quorum ipsa esse videtur. Venit magnus Flor. bati sagina et obtulit et concessit et donavit decimationem omnem de terra sua quae in incircuitu est eiusdem Ecclesiae. Similiter et filii Ildizae, omni veneratione digni, scilicet Joannes et Donatus et Florus et Petrus, germani fratres, venerunt coram Episcopo et constatuerunt omnem decimationem de terra eorum quae est in anbitu eiusdem Ecclesiae. Innumerabilis populus ibi fuerunt.'

'Suscipe igitur SS. et gloriosissima semper Virgo Maria horum praeclara dona, et redde animabus eorum quae tibi devote obtulerunt, et omnes Presbiteros et Clericos qui in hac tua sacratissima Ecclesia tibi devote serviunt exaudire digneris, rogantes pro animabus eorum cum supradictis Sanctis. Anni ab Incarnatione Domini XCIV., tertio kalendas Novembris. Si quis igitur horum confregerit dona, sit maledictus et anathematizatus et excomunicatus, et habeat portionem cum Datan et Abiron, nisi emendaverit, et restituerit quod conatus est disrumpere.' Original in Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella. It has been printed by Fineschi 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I. pp. 10, 11.

1102. Bull of Paschal II. confirming the possessions of the Chapter, and among them 'Ecclesiam Sce. Marie Novelle cum rebus suis' as in the Bull of 1076. Archivio di Stato, MS. Strozz. = 1244, pp. 201, 202.

1105. *Aug.* 10.—Florentius son of the late Ildiza, and Italia his wife give to the 'ecclesia et oratorio Beatissime Sce. Marie qui dicitur Novella' a piece of land hard by the Church and bounded by:—1, the road; 2, the churchyard; 3, land of Hugh, son of Andrew; 4, of Gasdia, daughter of Catia, 'et quia per ipsa nostra donatione atque ofersione et traditione, la une child, et meritum exinde a Bonfante fabro, vice prelibate Ecclesie recepimus corona una pro valiente sold. centum Lucensium monete. Actum Florencie.' Signed by the parties in presence of Teuzo 'iudex sacri palagi'; 'Florenti, filii Johannis Savii' and others. Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

Notice the double style of 'Church and Oratory,' the churchyard, etc.

1108. *September.*—Bonfante filius bm. Fabri and Johannes his brother, for the souls of Andrew, son of Martin, and of Andrew, son of the said Andrew, give to the 'Ecclesia et Horaturio Beatissime Sce. Ma. Virginis Mat. Xri. que nominatur Novella, sito prope Tribbio,' a piece of land and vineyard at Arco, thus bounded:—1, 'Classario et via; 2, land and ditch of Sigolo and his companions; 3, land of Florentius, son of Giovanni Savio, of Ugicioni and Alfieri; 4, land of the sons of Ugoli Pecora.' The measure is given 'a pedem (*sic*) que est designatam iuxta porta Sci Pancratii.' 'Actum Tribbio prope Civitate Florentia,' in presence of Beniamin Iudex Sacri Palagii, Blancoli de Tribbio, Petri Cavallo, Meliorelli, Trisilio, son of Russa, and Florentius, son of Giovanni Savio, and other witnesses. Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

This 'Arco' was perhaps the Roman triumphal Arch mentioned by Borghini which stood near the Church of St. Andrea at the Mercato Vecchio, hence called St. Andrea all' Arco. Other authorities mention an Arco de' Pecora near the Arcivescovado, so called from its neighbourhood to the houses of the Pecora family who, it will be observed, are mentioned in this deed. Note also the 'Tribbio' and the standard measure which is said to have been taken from the actual foot of King Luitprand, a very tall man.

1117. *Nov.* 26.—A 'donatio inter vivos' by Florentius son of Ildiza who gives and confirms 'in Ecclesia Sce. Marie que vocatur Novella, in qua Dominus Petrus residet Custos,' three-fifths of a piece of land near the Church and thus bounded:—1, his own land and ditch 'quam mihi reservo, et est finiterra (the boundary) de filio Petri Ilditie et supradicte Ecclesie'; 2, land of the son of 'Petri Ilditie'; 3, land of Pandolfulii filii Florentii de Campo; 4, land 'de filio Florentii Battisagina.' 'Actum prope iamdictam Ecclesiam Sce. Marie.'

On the same day and date, the same man sells 'in Ecclesia Sce. Marie que vocatur Novella, sita prope Florentiam in qua Dominus Petrus Presbyter residet Custos' the remaining two-fifths of the land bounded as above: 'pretium pro illa venditione mea recepi . . . a predicto Presbytero et Custode a vice iam dicte emptricis (the Church) . . . pro valente bonorum denariorum Lucensium solidos centum.' 'Actum prope iamdictam Ecclesiam' in presence of 'Bonfantis filii benemeriti Johannis Fabri de Tribbio' Hugh, son of Andrew, and other witnesses. Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella, where both deeds will be found engrossed on the same roll of parchment.

1118. *May* 4.—Nicta or Iucta 'filia Johannis Cri——ne, suscipiens ex lege velam capitis

sacre religionis' gives 'Ecclesie Sce. Marie que vocatur Novella, posite prope Tribbio,' a whole piece of land 'positam in loco remundito prope Crucem ad poco' with these boundaries:—1, ground of Bonfante, son of Giovanni Fabri; 2, ditto; 3, land of the son of Baldwin the Notary; 4, land of Peter, son of Paganus. This gift was made to Peter, Presbyter and Custos of the Church, on condition that he and his successors should pay Bonfante and his heirs for ever at Easter 'in loco Tribbio' 'denarios octo et dimidium de Luca bonos et spendibiles,' with a mutual penalty of 'libras decem' in case of failure. 'Actum Florentie' in presence of Peter, son of Paganus, Hugh, son of Andrew, and Peter, son of Dominic. Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

The 'poco' was probably a pozzo or well, mentioned by antiquaries as existing in early times at the 'Tribbio.' In that case we have here some evidence that there was a cross in this place long before the days of the Patarene war. It may have marked the traditional site of the martyrdom of St. Maurice, who suffered death c. 550 by wild beasts in the circus. See Borghini 'Discorsi,' II. p. 393.

1153. Bull of Anastasius IV. confirming the possessions of the Chapter, and among them 'Ecclesiam Sce. Marie Novelle cum rebus suis,' now of greater extent and value. Archivio di Stato, MS. Strozz. A.A.A. = 1244, p. 195.

1163. *Feb.* 27.—Bonicus, Rector of the Church of St. Andrea in Florence, considering a debt at high interest lying on his Church and which could not be discharged by its moveable property—a debt contracted to pay the duty imposed by the Imperial Chancellor—sells 'tibi Presbytero Ugoni, Ecclesie Sanctissime Dei Genetricis et gloriose semper Virginis Marie, que dicitur Novella, Dei dono venerando Rectori, vice ipsius Ecclesie,' a whole piece of land near the Church of S. M. Novella, thus bounded:—1 and 2, land belonging to the said Church; 3, land belonging to the Church of St. Paolo and to the Hospital of San Pancrazio and to the sons of Giovanni, son of Rolando; 4, land of Ormanno, son of Pandolfo de Campo. The price was 105 'solidorum bonorum denariorum Lucensium.' 'Actum Florentie,' in presence of 'Franciski Johannis Guittonis, et Johannis nepotis eius, et Bernardini filii bm. Attinasci, et Bonsegnori filii Bonizi, et Rimbi filii Johannis, et Danielis filii Ciottoli, et Bellundini Meliorelli, et Boni Depinzo de Monte, et Mainardiski.' 'Julius, Dei Gratia, Florentinus Episcopus' was another witness, and Ciprianus and Galitius were the Judge and Notary. Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

The Hospital of San Pancrazio stood in what is now the Via del Sole.

1170. *March* 11.—Reinaldus de Siscalco and Salonicca his wife sell to Priest Ugo for the Church of S. M. Novella, a small piece of land near the Church, thus bounded:—1 and 2, land belonging to the vendors; 3, 'casa eiusdem Ecclesie'; 4, the road. This land measured fourteen feet by eight, and the price was 'quadraginta solidorum bonorum denariorum Lucensium.' 'Actum Florentie' in presence of Galitius the judge, and of these witnesses:—'Priete Litolfoli, et Bulgarelli Blanki, et Deotiguerii filii Martinitti.' Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

1171. *Aug.* 12.—Reinaldus di Siscalco and Salonicca his wife sell to 'Sacerdoti Ugoni, et Ecclesie et Cappelle Sce. Dei Genetricis . . . que dicitur Novella, divina Gratia venerando Rectori' a whole piece of land near the Church, thus bounded:—1 and 2,

the land, house, and vineyard of the Church; 3, land of the son of [blank in deed]; 4, the road. The Rector bought, 'nomine ipsius Ecclesie,' at the price of 'novem librarum bonorum denariorum Lucensium.' 'Actum Florentie' in presence of Galitius the judge and the following witnesses:—'Jacobini filii Ubaldini Sigoli, et Aliotti filii Bei, et Pinte Litolfoli, et Mainardiski filii Meliorelli, et Cemine filii Johannis, et Mieti filii Boni, et Bonaffide et Simintendi filiorum Lanfrankini.' Arch. di S. Cart. di S. M. Novella.

Notice the Church House mentioned in these two deeds. It was probably the Rector's residence.

1180. *March* 28.—Acordatus son of Ingeniolini and Ilda his wife sell to 'Bernardo filio Guilielmini, Johannis (*sic*) Vecli et Presbyteris Litolfoli et Simonitti, filii Remicini Gemme et Sustegni filio (*sic*) Figadoris, qui modo sunt Consules de Porta Sci. Pancratii . . . ad communem onorem totius Portis,' a road near the Mugnone, thus bounded:—1 and 2, other roads; 3, a vineyard belonging to the vendors; 4, land of Falconerio, son of Deotiguerii, 'que via est stariorum unum et pedes unum ad mensuram pedis Porte Sci. Pancratii' at the price of 'lib. novem et sol. duo bon. den. Lucen.' 'Actum Florentie' in presence of Henry the Judge and of these witnesses:—'Mieti filii Boni de Pinzo de Monte, et Alamanni filii Alamanni, et Amidei filii Ugicionis de Campo, et Massai filii Jamboni, et Benintendi.' Archivio di Stato Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

1190. *May* 29.—Brief declaring that Truffa son of Rustikelli and Eusebia his wife invest Priest Gerard for the Church of S. Maria Novella 'in omne ius,' &c., 'de omnibus illis fructibus' accruing to Truffa from a possession given him by the 'Consulibus de Sco. Michaele.' The possession in question was half a field which used to belong to the late Priest Ugo and his father, and the price paid for this transaction was 'solidos quadraginta et quinque.' 'In civitate Florentia' in presence of Galitius the Judge and these witnesses:—'Mieti filii Boni, et Octaviani filii Bilenki, et Deotiguerii filii Martinitti et Venture filii Zucke et Benintendi filii Petri et Barocoli filii Spine et Germani filii Sime.' Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

The payment of this money to redeem Church lands may have been the beginning of Gerard's difficulties. The alienation of property must have begun in the time of Priest Ugo.

1193. *April* 13.—Forzittus, son of the late Bonimartino, confirms a sale formerly made by Paganus, his tutor, to 'Presbytero Monaldo Rectori Ecclesie et Cappelle Sce. Marie Novelle' on behalf of the said Church. The land in question consisted of 'quattuor starioris et quinque panoris ad iustum pedem Porte' of a field and vineyard with a house upon it at Polverosa, thus bounded:—1, land of Paganus; 2, land of S. M. Novella; 3, land of Strinati, son of Raminki; 4, the road, and the price was 'lib. l. bonorum den. expendibilium.' Forzittus now confirms the sale to Priest Gerard in presence of:—'Mieti fil. Boni, et Baldinotti fil. Petri—et Alamanni fil. quondam Alamanni et Giuncte fil. Mikelis et Bertalotti fil. Orlandini.' Archivio di Stato, *ut supra*.

1195. *July* 22.—Presbyter Gerard, considering the interest-bearing debt lying on the Church

and Chapel of S. M. Novella of which he is rector, and desiring also to pay eight pounds owing to Iseppo, receives eighteen pounds in money from Sannuto and in return grants him 'sex stariora' of land and vineyard at Polverosa thus bounded:—1, land of Paganus; 2, land of Nerli; 3, land of Strinati; 4, the road; on the understanding that he will pay Sannuto the eighteen pounds without interest 'ab isto festo Omnium Sanctorum' and that meanwhile he is to hold the land, rendering half the fruits to the Rector and inhabiting the house till the debt is paid. The witnesses are the brothers Giunta, Bonarrota, and Bonacursus, sons of Michael, and Bellasta, son of Mainardeski. Arch. di Stato, *ut supra.*

This land evidently included the portion which Paganus acting for Forzittus had sold to Priest Monaldo.

1195. *August* 22.—Burnittus, son of Orlandino of Antella 'tunc permanens ad feudum in Ecclesia Sce. Marie cum Presbytero Gerardo Rectore' renounced into the hands of Gerard as representing the Church and people all his rights in respect of the said holding in the Church, Gerard paying him 'sol. c. bonorum denariorum.' Valentinus and Ildebrandinus dello Sciancato went bound for Burnittus that he would maintain this oath under pain of the whole sum and twenty pounds more in name of damages. Witnesses Bonaffide Lanfrankini, Renaldo Keppia, Bonarota, son of Mikeli and Ugiccione.

1197. *April* 29 (or Feb. 27, for the document says 'III Kal. Ma' which is ambiguous). Minute of the evidence of witnesses given in the Court held by Pandulfus Cardinal Priest of the Basilica of the XII. Apostles and Legate of the Apostolic See in the case between the Provost of Florence and Rainerius on the one side and Priest Paul on the other. The Court was held in the Palace of the Bishop of Florence in presence of the following witnesses:—Guido Plebanus of Jogole, Claro Prior of S. Maria Maggiore, Maffo Plebanus of Filoccole, 'Jacoppo Alexii, Meliorello p.ti, Meliorello de allogato,' Master Guerio Plebanus of Decimo, Master Dono Plebanus of Santo Stefano and many others. The witnesses examined were these:—Bonarota, son of Michael; Renaldus Keppia; Corbizus; Mieti; Giunta, son of Michael; Peter, son of Biclius; Marbeka; Presbyter Bonus Prior Sci. Stefani, Canonicus Florentinus; Presbyter Orlandus Canonicus Florentinus; Presbyter Gherardus; Presbyter Rainerius Sci. Johannis; Presbyter Serafinus, and Jacobus Anselmus. The depositions were taken down by Rusticus the Imperial Judge and Notary, and this most important and interesting document will be found in the Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

1199. *Sept.* 13.—Record of an arbitration in the case between Master Johannes Priest of San Michele Bertelda and Priest Paul, Rector of S. Maria Novella, concerning the first fruits of the lands both vineyard and arable 'dicte Ecclesie de ponte Petrino' and concerning 'quodam libro qui dicitur Epistole Pauli.' The arbiters were Priest Serafino, Rector of San Pietro Buonconsiglii, and Priest Boniaductus, Canon of San Michele Bertelda, who determined that in all time coming the Prior and his successors should give to Priest Paul and his successors 'tempore vendemie ad canales' two orcii of pure must in name of first fruits, and that before the kalends of November next Priest Paul should give back his book to the Prior or in default of the book

should pay a sum to be determined by the Arbiters. Penalty ten pounds. 'Actum Florentie' before these witnesses:—'Caccta filius Flo. di Ricii et Rainerius filius Boni de Casali.' Archivio di Stato, *ut supra*.

1205. *May* 20.—Decision of the Court of St. Michael Bertelda in an amicable suit between Priest Paul, Rector of S. M. Novella, on the one part, and Michael on the other. Michael claimed from Priest Paul as representing his Church, eighteen pounds which he said his father had lent to Paul's predecessor who had not repaid the debt at the appointed time; and eighteen pounds more of damages for this failure; and a piece of land at Polverosa pledged with him for the money; and the crop for eight years, valued at six pounds. In support of his claim he showed a public instrument under the hand of Galitius the Judge (see deed of 1195, July 22). He further claimed from Priest Paul grain, fowls, straw, figs, nuts, meat, and beans, to the value of twenty pounds, which had been given, he said, to Paul's predecessor 'ut ipsum Canonicaret'—might get him a place in the Chapter, 'et matrem suam conversaret'—and settle his mother in a nunnery,—but he left the Church while still under age and had nothing in return. Paul on his part denied all liability. Both agreed to submit the case to arbitration, and the Court decided that Paul should pay Michael twenty-seven pounds and a-half before the feast of the Virgin in next August, and that Michael should cry him quits. The Judge was Ugo, and the witnesses Marsuppino and Rustichello Raffacani and Ugo, Rector of Or San Michele, and Advogado and Roffo.

Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.

1209. *Sept.* 24.—Priest Paul, Rector of S. M. Novella, grants to Belnero, son of Ildebrandini, perpetual possession and building rights in 'unam petiam terre et placze et casolaris,' $9\frac{1}{4} \times 12$ feet, near the Church, having these boundaries:—1, the road; 2, terra et placze et casolare Mincarde; 3, the land and garden of the Church; 4, land of the Church. The price paid by Belnero was sol. 32, and the buyer bound himself and his heirs forever to pay annually to Paul and his successors in the Church on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury 'denarios novem bonos de Pisa.' The building conditions were that a wall should be put up at the back of the property similar to that by the roadside, and that no door nor windows were to be opened to the back, but only 'spiracula' of four fingers' breadth 'et si domum ibi fecerit et erit in Palco non faciet de retro hostium nec fenestras nisi unam spannam,' and all this under a penalty of 'sol. centum' in case of failure. 'Actum Florentie apud supradictam Ecclesiam' in presence of these witnesses:—Renuctius filius Orladini, et Ranieri filius Borghesi et Renalaus filius Nane.

On the same day, in the same place, and before the same witnesses, Priest Paul gave under the same conditions to Jacopo Perni a piece of land $8\frac{1}{4} \times 12$ feet, and thus bounded:—1, the road; 2, land of Belnero; 3, land of the Church; 4, land of Montalto the Judge; price, sol. 33, rent, den. 8 yearly on St. Thomas' day.

1209. On *Nov.* 10 Priest Paul gave to Benvenuto Jacopo and Benci on the same conditions a piece of land measuring 8×15 feet, and thus bounded:—1, the road; 2, land of Jacopo, son of Guido Bellundini; 3, land of the Church; 4, land of Benciveni. Price, sol. 30, rent, den. 10 yearly on St. Thomas' day. Witnesses 'Bonanvenutii et Bonbarone fil. Pauli and another.

On the same day, and before the same witnesses, Paul granted to Bencivieni on the same conditions a piece of land measuring 10 × 15 feet, thus bounded:—1, the road; 2, Benvenuto's land; 3, land of the Church; 4 [blank in deed]. Price, sol. 36, rent, den. 12 yearly on St. Thomas' day.

Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella, where these four perpetual leases will be found engrossed on one roll of parchment and attested by Guitamannus the Judge and Notary. The building conditions seem meant to secure the privacy of the ground belonging to the Church which ran up to the back of these properties.

1210. *Oct.* 11.—Sentence of suspension and excommunication pronounced by Hugo, Canon of Fiesole and Papal delegate, in the case between Priest Buonaiuto, Prior of San Donato de Turri, and Priest Paul, Chaplain of S. M. Novella. The real case is not stated, but Hugo recites in this document how Buonaiuto first asked delay more than once, then refused to answer Paul's allegations, asserting that he was excommunicated, and asking leave to call the sons of Nana, the Judge Montalto, and Poverino as witnesses of this, whereupon Paul objected that these were his deadly enemies. He further states that once and again he had urged the parties to settle their difference by arbitration, whereupon the Prior chose first Master Buoninsegna and then the Prior of San Jacopo, and Paul chose first Canon Ranieri and then the Prior of Sta. Maria Maggiore as their arbiters, but without result. Finally Buonaiuto was peremptorily cited to appear at the Badia di Fiesole, and proving contumacious, was suspended and excommunicated by Canon Hugo acting in name of the Pope. 'Acta fuit Flo. in Ecclesia Sce. Marie Alberichi . . . presentibus testibus Presbytero Anzio Cappellano Sce. Marie Alberichi, et Baracterio filio Ingemmati et Roggieri' . . . &c. Archivio di Stato, *ut supra.*

1210. *Oct.* 26.—John, Prior of Fagna (in the Mugello), pronounces his decision as Arbiter in a case between Priest Ranieri, Prior of San Paolo, and Priest Paul, Rector of the Church and Chapel of S. M. Novella. The Prior of San Paolo claimed the bodies of the three sons of Bondius, and of a woman who had died in the house of Bondius, and of another woman who had died in the house of Falconerius, son of Falkettana, and asked that the Rector should meddle no more in these houses or in that of Bruno, son of Uberti, and demanded fifty pounds of damages. The Rector on the other hand claimed the bodies of the son of Spinello di San Romolo who had died in the house of Renaldo de la Spina, and of a poor woman of the Guidalotti who had died on the farm of the Church at Polverosa, and asked that the Prior should no longer interfere with him in these houses or in that of Bruno Uberti, and demanded fifty pounds of damages. The Prior of Fagna, sitting 'una cum Presbitero Pratensi S. Pancratii,' decided that Ranieri should have the houses of Accorro Filippi, Ansaldina, and Rimedio Davizzini, and in general all those houses and 'casolaria' which lie between the road that divides the house of Rogerii Fabri from that of the sons of Boncambii and Rocgerini and the above-mentioned house of Accorro, and that the inhabitants there should attend service at San Paolo. On the other hand Paul was to have for his parish the houses of Bruno Uberti, of Bondius, and of Renaldo della Spina, and in general all lying between the house of Bruno and the Church of S. M. Novella and between that of Canti (Boncambii and Rocgerini), 'versus muros novos civitatis usque

ad Eccl. S. M. Novelle,' whose inhabitants should attend service at the latter Church. Ranieri was further ordered to pay Paul before Christmas the sum of three pounds in name of damages. 'Factum est hoc Laudum Flor. in Eccl. S. Marie Alberiki.' Archivio di Stato, *ut supra.*

1212. *April* 14.—Decree pronounced in an arbitration between Priest Paul, Rector of S. M. Novella, as representing that Church, and Belnero, son of Ildebrandini, about a drain, &c., which Belnero had made behind his house adjoining the land and garden of the Church. The Arbiters chosen were Beronardo, Orlandino, Sanno, Junta, Pierossa, Ventura son of Nana, Jacopo Bellondini, Diacredi, Benintendi and Buonfante the Judge and Notary, all parishioners of S. M. Novella. They decreed that Belnero should make behind his house a substantial wall instead of the brick one which is there at present; that this wall should include the whole drain, and that Belnero should not allow anything to pass the wall but rain water from the roof. Or otherwise that he should give up the whole drain beyond the wall reaching to the first storey and make channels underground ('necessaria subtus terra'). If he took the latter way, Priest Paul was ordered to pay him sol. 20, den. 3 on the kalends of next July; if the former, sol. 10, den. — at the same date. The work was to be completed by the kalends of August under the same conditions as are prescribed in the original lease (see *sub anno* 1209)—viz., 'nullam fenestram vel spirallium in muro faciat' save those allowed him before, and the rain water must not be allowed to fall on the Church lands more than a span beyond the new wall. 'Act. Flo. in Claustro prefate Ecclesie' in presence of Buonfante Mazzaferri the Judge and Notary and of these witnesses:—Buonaccorsi, son of Michele, and Paganus and Buonaccorsi, sons of Burnetti. Archivio di Stato, *ut supra.*

1212. *Dec.* 7.—Jacopo, son of Guido Bellondini, and Rustikella, his wife, sell to Priest Paul, Rector and Chaplain of the Church and Chapel of S. M. Novella, a piece of land near the Church thus bounded:—1, 2, land of the Church; 3, land of vendors; 4, 'amputata'—*i.e.*, it was triangular and came to an angle here. Price 'lib. 34 bonorum den. Pisane monete.' Done on the land itself in presence of Bonfante Mazzaferri the Judge and of these witnesses:—Alancredi the smith, son of Gerardini the smith; Buongianni the smith, and Renaldo, son of Nana. Archivio di Stato, *ut supra.*

1217. *Oct.* 5.—Priest Paul, Rector of S. M. Novella, for the benefit of that Church sells to Ammanato, son of Dandi, and to Hoste and Benvenuto, sons of Gerardo de Quinto, 'unum Casolarem et Aream et locum et plazam' near the Church thus bounded:—1, the road: 2, the house of Sinibaldo; 3, the Church lands; 4, 'casa eiusdem Ecclesie, classus dicte Ecclesie in medio.' The subject measured 8 × 13 feet, and the price was lib. 3, sol. 2 of Pisan money. The conditions were a payment annually on St. Thomas' day of den. 9, and that 'non debeant facere ab latere meridei hostium nec finestras subter palco (on the ground floor) ampla ulterius quatuor dicitos, et supra balcum (on the first storey) ultra unam spannam, et ab latere classi (the paved road, 'chiasso' in Italian) similiter, set possit ab latere classi facere aquarium (rain-water pipe) et proicere aquam inde et non aliud,' under penalty of 'lib. 3, sol. 2 nomine pene.' Done at Florence in presence of Guttamanus the Judge and these witnesses:—Arrigetti Ciuffoli, Ildebrandino Passavati (*sic*) and Ronelli del Gullo. Archivio di Stato, *ut supra.*

1221. 'In Dei Nomine Amen. Millesimo ducentesimo vigesimo primo, VI. Id. Novemb. Ind. X. Presbyter Forese Rector Ecclesie S. M. Novelle renuntiavit in manibus Domini Hugonis, Ostiensis et Velletrensis Episcopi, Apostolice Sedis Legati, omni iuri quod ei pertinebat in dicta Ecclesia S. Marie Novelle.'

'Acta sunt hec Florentie, in Palatio Domini Episcopi Florent, presentibus Domino Johanne, Episcopo Florentino, Domino Goffredo, Pistoriensi Episcopo et Abate de Nonantula et aliis.' Archivio di Stato, *ut supra.* Printed in Fineschi 'Memorie Istoriche,' I. p. 29.

1221. *Nov.* 9.—Cardinal Hugo, John, Bishop of Florence, Clannus the Provost, and Donus the Archpresbyter, with consent of the Canons hand over 'Ecclesiam et Cappellam S. M. Novelle in perpetuum' to 'Domino Ubaldino recipienti pro Fratribus Ord. Pred.'

Nov. 12. Cardinal Hugo gives possession 'in Ecclesia et de Ecclesia S. M. Novell. cum suis domibus et cemeterio et sex starior. terre circa Ecclesiam pro orto faciendo' to Fra Giovanni (da Salerno) and the Dominicans. 'Acta sunt haec omnia Florent. in Choro dicte Ecclesie . . . presentibus testibus Marabottino de Campi et Buoncambio Soldi, et Acerbo Falseronis, et Ranerio et Octaviano eius filiis et Jacobo Ranerii Corboli et Jacobo Dietisalvi et Lotterio Tornaquinci.' On the same day the Cardinal 'utilitati Ecclesie et Cappelle S. M. Novelle et Fratrum Ord. Pred. quibus ipsam Ecclesiam cum domibus et cemeteriis concessimus' gave power to Compagno Michelis and Bruno Uberti and Rustico Deocredi and Benvenuto Giambeni and Manfredo Bellaste and Renaldo Nane, as procurators of the parish, to sell the property of the Church at Polverosa, and to adapt the buildings at S. M. Novella for the friars' use, and also gave them the like powers over the perpetual leases of 1209 and 1217 for the same purpose.

1222. *Sept.* 10.—The above-named trustees transfer all their powers to others, namely to 'Guidalocto, vulgò dell' Orco, et Berlingherio Geronimi et Mannello fil. olim Beliotti, et Artimiscio fil. Burnetti, et Rainerio Ugonis Angiolotti, et Ubaldino Ciriaci, atque Giannibono Giannonis.' From this final deed we learn that the Cardinal had ordered the trustees to pay Priest Forese a yearly stipend of sixteen pounds, and in a supplementary writing dated Sept. 14, it appears that the Church lands at Polverosa had been alienated to 'Mannello fil. Beliotti.' Archivio di Stato, *ut supra.* All these documents of 1221 and 1222 will be found printed in Fineschi, *op. cit.* pp. 29–35.

NOTE.

The expressions 'Abbot of the Gate, Clergy of the Gate, Consuls of the Gate,' are worth particular attention. It would seem that City and Suburbs were then (1197) divided into Regions, taking their names from the different gates of the town. Each Region had a civil organisation under 'Consuls,' while ecclesiastically its Parish Priests had a corporation of their own as 'Clergy of the Gate' under one of themselves—the so-called 'Abbot,' who in his own Region represented the Bishop *quoad spiritualia* at the institution of new incumbents. S. M. Novella belonged to the Porta San Pancrazio. At the election of Monaldo, the Prior of San Michele was 'Abbot,' and in the case of Ranieri, the Prior of San Paolo. This curious point of ancient discipline seems to have passed unnoticed by previous writers on the antiquities of Florence.

PART II.

THE LATER BUILDINGS.

(CHIEFLY ARCHITECTURAL.)

CHAPTER I.

The Transept Church.

THE Dominicans who obtained possession of Santa Maria Novella in 1221 did not commence building there in earnest till 1245. The reason of this long delay must be sought in the character of the Order itself, and in the history of Florence during the early part of the thirteenth century.

Like the Dogmas of the Church which were framed each in contrast to some declared heresy, her religious orders for the most part arose in opposition to bodies of men who, while still claiming to be Christians, had separated themselves from her communion. The chief heresy of the day was that of the Cathari, who as Albigenses occupied the south-eastern part of France, and as Patarenes were well known in almost every Province of Italy. In Florence they had found a footing, and, indeed, risen to some importance as early as the year 1117.[1]

Their heresy was a peculiar survival of ancient Gnostic doctrines, derived in these more modern times from the early centuries of our era and the schools of Alexandria, through the succession of Manichaeans, Paulicians, and Bulgarians. Its root lay in an oriental Dualism, or asserted coëternity of the Principles of Good and Evil. To the first they ascribed all that was spiritual, to the second all that was material, and modifying in this sense the orthodox Christian Faith, they held that matter was evil and the body a mere prison : a punishment for sins committed by the soul in a previous state of existence. Consistently carrying these beliefs to their necessary consequence the Cathari denied the Resurrection, forbade the use of marriage, and of flesh as food, nor did they shrink from the last assault upon the very sanctuary of the Christian

[1] See Villani's History, *sub anno.*

Faith. They denied Transubstantiation, not in a Protestant sense, but as holding that the Body of Christ was not of flesh and blood like ours,[1] but a mere appearance of these, into which therefore the bread and wine of the Altar were evidently not transformed.[2]

The power and prevalence of the Patarene heresy in Italy was not, of course, due to these strange doctrines, but to something at once more obvious and attractive. These sectaries were mighty preachers in an age when to a large extent the Church had lost both voice and consequent command of the people. And their preachers, unlike the orthodox Clergy, lived in a poverty and self-denial which recalled the early days of the Gospel. Finally, their victory was that of the vanquished, for, laid hold of by the Imperial forces, always eager to enlist whatever might serve to tame the pretensions of the Church, the Patarenes became the very vanguard of the Ghibelline host.[3]

As therefore the Jesuits arose in the sixteenth century to oppose the Reformation, so the Mendicants appeared in the thirteenth for the defence of the Church. A new crusade was proclaimed, not now against the Saracen amid the Holy Places of the East, but against the intrusion of heresies essentially eastern upon the sanctuary of Christian Doctrine. In this Crusade the Dominicans were the leaders of Orthodoxy, and their success was due, not so much to the mere brutal triumph of their arms in Provence during the Albigensian war, as to the skill with which they met the Italian enemy on the ground he had chosen, and overcame him with his own weapons. If men spoke in praise of poverty, here were Mendicants sound in the faith and yet begging their bread from door to door. If the world ran after preaching, behold an Order vowed to the Pulpit as its special duty. The recognition of the Friars Preachers by Honorius III. in 1215 gave them the same position in the Guelphic cause as the Patarenes had among the Ghibellines: they became the right arm of the Church, her chief bulwark against the forces of the Empire.

Both as representing the political party of the Church and as the leaders in a genuine movement towards reform from within the bounds of Orthodoxy the Dominicans enlisted wide sympathies, and made rapid

[1] In this repeating the error of the ancient *Docetae.*

[2] For the opinions of the Cathari see Tocco, 'L'Eresia nel Medio Evo,' pp. 73-83.

[3] In the Chronicle attributed to Brunetto Latini, we find the expression 'avegnadio che e Ghibellini fossero plubici Paterini: per loro fu trovato lo 'nquisitore di 'resia.' See Archivio di Stato, MSS. Strozzi, Series II., cod. 76, pp. 445, 446, and Villari 'I Primi due Secoli,' Vol. II., p. 235, and Tocco, *op. cit.*, p. 207, *et seq.*

progress in popularity and success. The story of their early days at Florence reads like the movement of a campaign in which point after point is occupied without haste, without delay, and with the highest strategic skill. From the Hospital of S. Gallo and the Oratory of St. James in the Pian di Ripoli, where they came in 1219 on the Bishop's invitation, they first made acquaintance with Florence by begging and preaching about the streets. Then they moved to San Pancrazio, and in 1220 we find them at San Paolo.[1] Finally, in 1221, a Papal Legate,[2] with consent of the Bishop and Canons, put them in possession of Santa Maria Novella, which thus entered on a new period of its existence as the stronghold of the champions of the Church.

The reason why this place was chosen for such a purpose seems to appear when we consider the terms used by an old chronicler in speaking of the first days of the Dominican occupation. "In the year that the Preaching Friars got their Convent at Florence, which is called Santa Maria Novella, were heard terrible voices and the howling of demons, who by the space of twelve months did almost every night bewail there the coming of the Friars, since for long time the place had been their own as the seat of much wickedness that was practised there ; for it was little better than a house of ill-fame. And these voices were heard not by the Friars alone, but by many of the neighbours as well."[3] Now we may dismiss the accusation of immorality as a mere common-place of the Mendicants when speaking of the older Monastic Orders whom they supplanted. It is not likely that the life of the Canons at Santa Maria Novella was worse than that of somewhat worldly ecclesiastics who took their ease and pleasure in a favourite country retreat. But near by, on the roads leading to the Porta Baschiera and the Porta San Pancrazio stood two hospitals. If, as seems likely, these houses received pilgrims on their way to Rome by Florence, it is very easy to understand, when we consider what such pilgrimages were, how scenes of disorder might

[1] For a discussion of the early history of the Dominicans in Florence see Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., Introduction, *passim.*

[2] This was Cardinal Ugolino (afterwards Gregory IX.), whom Honorius III. sent to compose the discord between the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Florence after the noted events of 1215.

[3] See the 'Annali' of Tommaso Malvenda, p. 395, who says, 'Anno quo Fratres Predicatores receperunt locum Florentiae qui Sanctae Mariae Novellae vocatur, auditae sunt voces terribiles et ululatus daemonum quasi per annum omnibus noctibus plangentium quod Fratres locum illum intraverunt, qui eis a multis annis fuerat dedicatus utpote receptaculum multarum spurcitiarum quae ibi fiebant : erat enim quasi lupanar. Has autem voces non tantum Fratres sed multi de vicinis audierunt.'

arise in these places, and even be carelessly allowed to overflow into the adjoining atrium of Santa Maria Novella.[1]

The heart of the matter, however, lay not in occasional outbreaks of vulgar vice, but in the constant contrast thus inevitably presented between these houses of the poor and the luxurious, almost princely, life of the Canons in their neighbouring Cloister. The first success of the Patarenes in Italy appeared at Milan during the eleventh century, and was due to their having gained command of a popular movement towards reform excited by the riches and luxury of the superior Clergy. Their sect had made its way, not by virtue of peculiar doctrines, which, indeed, they kept rather for the instruction of the initiated, but as a powerful protest against the wealth and arrogance of the Church.[2]

To this movement the Dominicans themselves were the readiest and most sufficient answer, and Cardinal Ugolino may well have thought he could not leave behind him a better check upon the boldness of the Ghibellines than a strong and flourishing Convent of the Friars Preachers. But best of all, by substituting the Dominicans for the Canons Regular in Santa Maria Novella, he healed what had no doubt ere this become a crying scandal in Ghibelline mouths. 'By virtue of his commission,' note the words,[3] he handed over to Fra Giovanni and his brethren the buildings of Santa Maria Novella, that henceforth Lazarus should no longer sit at the gates of Dives, but of men vowed themselves to Evangelic poverty, ready to bind up his sores and call him brother. No marvel then if for many a month the Ghibellines bewailed what had thus been done to their double prejudice. Theirs, we may believe, were the 'devilish voices' heard by night in random attempts to disturb the Dominicans, whose coming promised so ill for that party, and who more than fulfilled the Cardinal's hopes by the zeal and success with which they thenceforth championed the Guelphic cause and secured at last its triumph in Florence.

It was no *guerra di campanili* such as that of 1196, no mere parish war that filled these strenuous years, but the shock of a conflict wide as

[1] One of these hospitals, called the 'House of the poor,' was pulled down in 1244 to enlarge the Old Piazza—now the Piazza dell' Unità; the other, the 'Spedale di San Bartolo à Mugnone,' suffered the same fate in 1310, when the city finally cleared the new Piazza of the Church. See Fineschi, *op. cit.*, pp. xxix., 116 and 276.

[2] See Tocco, *op. cit.*, p. 213, *et seq.*

[3] See the document in Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Italy itself which was felt in the Tuscan capital. As time went on the very worship of the Patarenes, which grouped itself in secret meetings about their only sacrament, the Consolamentum, or imposition of hands; their means of private communication with each other, and even the collections they made, were all turned to serve the Imperial interest, and they counted adherents among the Uberti, the Pucci, the Pitti, and the Albizzi, people of consequence and position in Florence.[1]

Nor were the Dominicans idle on their side. Cardinal Ugolino had now become Pope, and as Gregory IX. he wrote in 1227 to Fra Giovanni and his brethren exhorting them to extirpate the heretics.[2] Fortified by this Bull, which was repeated in 1232, 1235, and 1236,[3] the Friars of Santa Maria Novella played their part with vigour, aided by the civil authorities of the city and province. Arrests were made, diets of inquisition held, abjurations recorded, and fires kindled for the impenitent *Consolati*.[4] At last in 1243 a mighty force came to their aid, that of Peter of Verona himself, the son of Patarenes, but now a great preacher and organiser on behalf of the Catholic faith and the party of the Church. His sermons stirred Florence, and his skill gathered in trained bands those whom his eloquence had impressed. Two years later, on the 24th of August, 1245, the St. Bartholomew of Florence, these new crusaders met and broke the force of the Patarenes[5] and the long struggle was over at last. The crosses of the Trebbio by Santa Maria Novella, and of Sta. Felicità in the Oltrarno are the traditional record of this signal victory won by the Guelphic party.

To few or none is it given to play at once the part of David and of Solomon: to be at the same time the Captain of hosts and the wise Master Builder. Thus the conduct of the Patarene war, which chiefly fell to them, is quite enough to explain why the first twenty-five years spent by the Dominicans in Florence show no considerable record of building

[1] Archivio di Stato, Pergamene di S. M. Novella, ad annos 1244, 1245, and copies of these and other like documents in the Biblioteca Nazionale Florence, Classe 37, MS. 300, p. 151, *et seq.*

[2] Fineschi *op. cit.*, pp. 77–79. This Bull speaks of the Patarenes as 'little foxes that spoil the vines' perhaps in allusion to the name of S. Maria 'tra le vigne,' and further calls them 'lamie, spectres that shriek at night, possibly in reference to the disturbance they made there during the first year of the Dominican occupation.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 88, Arch. di Stato, Perg. di S. M. N. *sub annis.*

[4] See documents in Archivio di Stato, Pergamene di S. M. Novella ad annos 1244, 1245, and Bibl. Naz. Flor. Classe 37, MS. 300, p. 151, *et seq.*

[5] Archivio di Stato, Pergamene di S. M. Novella, 24th August, 1245.

undertaken at Santa Maria Novella. But in 1245 the conditions were suddenly changed. Peace succeeded to this long war, and the credit of a signal victory remained with the Friars Preachers, at once increasing the number of their adherents and promising them ample means should they think of erecting a Church fit to receive the crowds that attended their ministry. In 1244 the City had already determined to hear the prayer of Fra Pietro da Verona and enlarge the Piazza at Santa Maria Novella for this preacher's open air sermons; a sign that the Parish Church of 1094 could no longer contain the crowds that attended the eloquent Friar.[1] And a Bull of Innocent IV. gives us reason to think that about the same time the Dominicans must have commenced to erect a new and larger Church; at least it is certain that they had done so before 1246, when the new building was well on its way to completion, and the Pope granted an Indulgence of forty days to all who should contribute to the work in hand. This important document was published by Fineschi as long ago as 1790,[2] but his conclusions were so timid, and the whole matter has received so little attention from the other historians of the place, that we must consider it with more careful detail than might otherwise have been necessary.

To begin with, there is a fair presumption that the building thus erected at Santa Maria Novella in the middle of the thirteenth century must still be visible as part of the existing Church of to-day. For if this be the case even with the much earlier walls of 1094, now the substructure of the Sacristy,[3] much more is it likely that what was built in 1246 was preserved and adapted to the structure which followed. Nay, it is likely that of the present Santa Maria Novella no small part must date from 1246, for were it not so then we must be forced to conclude that the whole of this great Church as we now see it was begun and finished in twenty years: a very improbable thing in the case of a building erected by men who had no funds in hand but depended on free-will offerings and built as the money came in.[4]

[1] Arch. di Stato Perg. di S. M. Novella, 20th December, 1244, and Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 96, who gives the date as 12 December, 1244.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 141. Given at Lyons, 13th April, 1246. 'Cum igitur dilecti filii Fratres Ordinis Predicatorum Florentiis, ibidem, sicut accepimus, Ecclesiam et alia edificia suis usibus opportuna construere ceperint . . . rogamus . . . ut per subventionem vestram predicta edificia consummari valeant.'

[3] See *ante*, pp. 10, 17.

[4] See *infra*, Ch. II., and Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

But if this be granted, then in what part of Santa Maria Novella are we to look for the building of 1246? The reply must be that the Transepts, when we allow for the alterations necessary to fit them for their present purpose, best answer the requirements of the case, and are therefore to be held as in all probability the very building in question. With regard to the other parts of the edifice, the Nave and Chancel, we shall be able to show that there is some record of the persons who contributed to their erection and the time when they were completed,[1] but for the Transepts there is nothing of the kind: a piece of negative evidence which goes far to suggest that they must have belonged to another and earlier age. Again, the Transepts, standing alone, might well form a complete Church in themselves: an obvious condition of the problem, as the building of 1246 must evidently so have served during the thirty years which elapsed between its erection and the commencement of the final and present building. This supposed Transept Church would closely adjoin on the North the older edifice of 1094; the axes of the two would be parallel, and if the later building resembled the earlier in having its high altar to the West, then we see that the Strozzi Chapel may at least mark the place and preserve the appearance of what must have been an ancient elevated Chancel, something after the manner of those at San Miniato and Fiesole. The opposite chapel of the Rucellai at the east end of the transepts was an addition made in the fourteenth century, and may here be left out of account, but where its entrance arch pierces the end wall of the Transept must have opened the principal door of such a Church as we are considering, and in this we find a new reason to hold our suppositions correct, as such a door would give very exactly upon the old Piazza of Santa Maria Novella. This place, as we have seen, was formed to its present shape about the year 1245, when the new Church must have been at least already planned out, and the fact that it lies right before the end of the Transept, just as the new Piazza does before that of the Nave, is therefore a further proof that the present Transepts were the Nave of 1246.

But it is the decoration of this part of the Church, both within and without, which especially distinguishes it from the rest of the building, and thus affords the most striking proof that it belongs to another age. Take, for example, the interior of the Gondi Chapel—the first to the left of the

[1] See Appendix, *passim.*

High Altar. Each corner here is occupied by a slender stone column running up the angle to the spring of the four vaulting ribs: a feature not found elsewhere in Santa Maria Novella than in the Transepts, and wanting even there in such additions as the Rucellai Chapel and the Sacristy, which were built in the fourteenth century. But it is the capitals of these columns in the Gondi Chapel which chiefly deserve attention. They are pure grotesques, well-nigh unique in Florence, and suggest the fancies of some northern Cathedral builder rather than the usual forms of Italian Gothic: such work, for instance, as appears in the heads of the flattened pilasters outside the Gondi Chapel, which almost press upon its outer pair of grotesques, and by so doing form an excellent foil to their strange distinction. The same remarkable contrast may be seen in both the Chapels to the right of the High Altar, and in that of the Gaddi—the second to the left—it fails only because roof and walls are alike concealed by an elaborate lining of plaster and marble contrived here at the close of the sixteenth century.

Nor is the external ornament of this part of the Church less worthy of notice. From the west end of the Friars' Burial Ground, whence one gable of this line of Transept Chapels can be clearly seen, or from the street pavement opposite the Chancel commanding the whole of their perspective and order, the decoration they offer in the way of elaborate brickwork is alike unusual and remarkable. The gables show a deeply recessed cross above an arcade of moulded red brick, and this arcade is continued in a broad band of rich decoration along the whole length of the Transept walls to the north, interrupted only by the plain masonry of the Chancel which thus proclaims itself an intrusion and the work of another hand and time.

It is true that the problem of the Chancel cannot fairly be thus dismissed in a word. For we must face the fact that if it differs from the Transepts externally, yet within, by its angle shafts and grotesque capitals which frame the Ghirlandaio frescoes, it offers internally a fair concordance with their architecture and order. But we may very simply solve this difficulty by supposing that the correspondence in question was the work of a later age helped out by the carvings which must have been set free from their original situations in the changes necessary to transform the complete Church building of 1246 into the Transepts as we now see them. Of this intermediate Church the existing line of Transept Chapels must have formed the north aisle. Next and parallel to this

came the wider Nave whose axis corresponded with that of the Strozzi Chapel, and next again a south aisle, both of which are now completely lost in the new breadth given to the Transepts. Now, in the building of 1246 all the capitals must have been formed by grotesques, not only in the north but also in the south aisle, and in the Nave as well, where, following the law of proportion, they were probably larger and more important. From these last then we may believe were chosen the carvings which now form the capitals of the Chancel,[1] and that we have here to do with a later work of selection and adaptation not too carefully carried out is evident from the fact that while three of these grotesque capitals bear symbols of the Evangelists, the fourth—that in the south-east corner—belongs to another order of things altogether, and corresponds in size only with the others.[2] Thus what at first sight seems to contradict the theory we have advanced, proves on closer examination to yield a new means of establishing its probability.

Passing for a moment from Architecture to Art, and from the existing features of the Transepts to those that have perished, we may briefly recall the famous story of the Gondi Chapel frescoes and show in a final word what bearing this theory of the Church of 1246 may have upon one of the most important questions in the history of the fine arts. Of the youth of Cimabue, then, Vasari tells us[3] that, born in 1240, he attended school at Santa Maria Novella, where a relation was Master of the Novices. Rather than study, the boy preferred to draw on the margins of his books, or, playing truant, to watch certain Greeks who were then busy in decorating with frescoes the Chapel of the Gondi. On which Milanesi, Vasari's most recent and authoritative commentator, has the following remarks:—"It is impossible that these masters who are said to have come from Greece should have painted in Santa Maria Novella; for the Church as we now see it was begun to be built in 1279 . . . the most overwhelming proof is that the Chapel (of the Gondi) could only

[1] The Chancel evidently holds the place of two lost bays in the former north aisle. As the existing Chapels to left and right are dedicated to St. Luke and St. John respectively, it is likely that the Chapels removed to form the Chancel bore the names of the remaining Evangelists. Thus the carvings in question probably came from the Nave capitals which once stood just opposite this place.

[2] This capital shows a human figure holding a box or square tablet, and immediately beneath it is a curved horn, somewhat intruded on by the external capital of the chancel arch. The figure represents perhaps an apocalyptic angel. See Rev. x. 1, 2.

[3] 'Le Vite,' Firenze, Sansoni, 1878, Vol. I., pp. 247-49.

have been built at the same time as the Church, which at the epoch of these pretended Greek Masters was not in existence."[1] In this sharp criticism all modern writers on Art seem to agree.

Now it will at once be seen what help our study brings to the solution of this disputed point. The Bull of 1246 has assured us that in that year a new Church was not only begun but had gone some considerable way towards completion: why, then, should it not have been in the decorators' hands by 1250, which would be the time of Cimabue's school-days? And as the Gondi Chapel in all probability formed part of the Church in question there is no reason why this should not have been the very place where the Father of Florentine Painting learned the rudiments of his art.

Indeed, the more minutely we examine the history of this Chapel the more points of correspondence it offers with Vasari's story. Its most ancient dedication, ascending certainly to the latter half of the thirteenth century, was to St. Luke, the Patron of the Arts.[2] Of Fra Raineri, a brother of this convent, who received the Dominican habit in 1264, we read that:—"He was called the Greek . . . and went to his relations in Achaia, where he entered the Order and then returned. He chose St. Luke the Evangelist as his patron, and adorned his Altar as was fitting."[3] After all, then, Vasari may have been right in his account of the Greek painters, though we should be inclined to suppose that they came rather at the instance of the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella, and because of the relation of this convent with the Achaian Province of the Order, than as sent for by the Signoria of Florence. And, finally, when we find that the Gondi Chapel was anciently called the 'Cappella del Coro'[4] and connect this curious name with that of the 'Coro dei Conversi,'[5] which seems to have occupied this part of the Church, we see an unexpected light thrown upon Cimabue's early studies. They may well have been carried on here, for Monastic Schools were often held in the Churches, or, at least, it is more than likely the boy came often to worship

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 248, *note*.

[2] See Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 185, *note*, and p. 139.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 366, Necrol, No. 215.

[4] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MSS. dei Conventi Sopp. F. 5. 491, Life of Bishop Saltarelli, by Fineschi, who says the Bishop gave two organs to the Church, one of which was put near the Chapel of San Luca 'called the Cappella del Coro.'

[5] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MSS. dei Conventi Sopp. F. 5. 491, Life of Fra Michele dei Pilastri, by Padre Fineschi, who says this Frate was devoted to St. Ignatius and had his image painted near the door of the Sacristy 'ove rimaneva il Coro de' Conversi.'

in this place with the novices when he would have an opportunity of studying the progress of its decoration from time to time. Thus both the larger and lesser story of this Church of 1246 avails to clear the doubts that have gathered about Vasari's account, and adds new interest to the Chapel of St. Luke as in all probability the authentic cradle of Florentine Art.

CHAPTER II.

The Third, or Present Church.

THE period of about thirty years which intervened between the completion of the second and the commencement of the third Church at Santa Maria Novella was fairly covered by the lives of three important persons who had certainly much to do with the latter of these buildings, and may also have been concerned in the former.

The first of these was Fra Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, born in 1217 of a noble Florentine family whose houses lay near the street of the Calimala by the Mercato Nuovo. He was admitted a novice of Santa Maria Novella at the age of thirteen, distinguished himself in carrying out the policy of his order and party against the Patarenes, and while still a young man was elected prior of the Convent.[1] This happened in 1244, and as he continued to rule at Santa Maria Novella during the time occupied by the building of the second Church, he must certainly have had a principal hand in its construction.

The others in question were the architects Fra Ristoro da Campi and Fra Sisto, received by Prior Aldobrandino as *conversi* of the Order with the purpose, we are told, of employing their talents in the buildings he designed to erect at Santa Maria Novella.[2] Their names and fame, like that of Cavalcanti himself, have been hitherto exclusively connected with the third or present Church, but as the building which preceded it was undoubtedly completed under the Priorate of Fra Aldobrandino, it may be questioned whether these *protégés* of his were not also concerned in forming the Church of 1246. Some support for this conjecture may be found in the fact that Fra Ristoro and Fra Sisto were employed by the city in building the first great vaults of the Bargello.[3] Now the Bargello

[1] See the Life in Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 121, *et seq.* [2] See Fineschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 343.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 348, Necrol, No. 133.

was begun about 1250, just when the second Church of Santa Maria Novella had left the architect's hands and passed into those of the decorators.[1] Nor is it possible to suppose that a building of such civic importance as the Palace of the Priors would be entrusted to men who had not previously given ample proof of their capacity to design nobly and build with effect. Some considerable work they must already have done, and why not at Santa Maria Novella? If the second Church there was so merged and lost in the grander if not finer fabric of the third that its very existence as an earlier and once independent building has come to be forgotten, may we not suppose that something of the same kind has happened with regard to the fame of these architects. Fra Ristoro and Fra Sisto rightly enjoy the credit of having designed the present Church, but this their chief claim to honour need not prevent our supposing that they may well have won their first laurels in connection with the building of 1246.

From these conjectures, however probable, we may now profitably pass to what is generally admitted by all. It is said that Cavalcanti's influence in the City had early attracted many sons of the best families to Santa Maria Novella. His Priorate, therefore, opened a long period of prosperity and promise, which made the idea of a new and grander Church both natural and inevitable, while his later promotion to the Bishopric of Orvieto, and his final position as Vicar of the Apostolic see, enabled him, it has been supposed, to save or collect some money for the building.[2] Fra Ristoro and Fra Sisto furnished the design, and the result shows that they had been commissioned to plan a Church which should not only supersede the others formerly built on this site, but do honour alike to the City in which it stood and the Order with which it was connected.[3] Thus, though Cavalcanti died just before the building was begun,[4] and Fra Ristoro and Fra Sisto left Santa Maria Novella for Rome a few months later,[5] their names have always been connected, and in a

[1] For the date of the Bargello, see Vasari, *op. cit.*, p. 355, where Milanesi gives this date, though by a misprint it appears as 1230.

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 169, where Fra Remigio Girolami speaks in 1293 of the hopes with which the new Church had been begun :—'Non in spe nostra, quia redditibus affictuum et pensionum caremus, sed in spe Populi Florentini,' which people, he says, 'debet habere magnam Ecclesiam excedens omnes Ecclesias mihi notas Religiosorum Pauperum.'

[4] Aug. 31, 1279.

[5] Marchese, 'Memorie,' Firenze, 1854, Vol. I., p. 48.

true and honourable way, with what is still one of the finest buildings in Florence.

If we have rightly read the relation between the building of 1246 and that designed to supersede it, what was now to be built was merely a Chancel and Nave, which, entering upon the existing Church from opposite directions, would allow it to serve as the Transepts of the new edifice.[1] The necessary ground, we are told, had already been obtained: the Ricci family furnishing the site for the Chancel, and the rest being given by the Tornaquinci.[2] A splendid ceremonial added dignity to the commencement of these works. The Pope had sent a Legate to Tuscany in the person of his own nephew, Fra Latino Frangipani, with commission to compose once more the discords between Guelphs and Ghibellines in Florence. This illustrious guest was met at the gates of Florence by a gala procession of nobility and clergy, who conducted him to a lodging in Santa Maria Novella, and on the 18th of October, 1279, he laid the foundation stone of the new Church with due ecclesiastical rites and amid much popular rejoicing.[3] An inscription still to be seen over the door leading into the East Transept from the Chapel of the Pura records the Cardinal's visit, and is probably contemporary with the event itself.[4] A Legate sent to pacify the City had, we may remember, first given the Dominicans possession at Santa Maria Novella in 1221, and now by the hand of another, bearing commission for the same purpose, was inaugurated the work designed to bring their Church to its final perfection.

The records show that the new enterprise did in fact enjoy a remarkable amount of favour: the heads of both Church and State helping to furnish the means for its execution. Papal Bulls, dated 1281, 1285, 1286,

[1] The MS. Strozz. H. E., p. 75, says:—'L'anno 1278 fu accresciuta detta Chiesa.' See Archivio di Stato Firenze, Repertorio Strozziano di cose Ecclesiastiche, p. 28.

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 129. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 139, and Villani, *sub anno.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 139. An examination of the stone itself will show that the date 'MCCLXXIX.' is more recent than the rest of the inscription. It seems to have been added afterwards in a space left by the original legend, which, in fact, breaks off abruptly without completing its own sense. I do not know how to explain the fact that Rosselli in his MS. 'Sepoltuario' makes the inscription stand thus:—'In Nom. Dom. Nri. Jesu Xri Amen. Vener Pr. D. Frat. Latinus Vrsinus Genere Romanus Ord. Pred. Ostiensis Eps. Card. Apost. Sedis Legatus Florentiam veniens cives—*fundavit Ecclesiam S. M. Novelle, Ann. Dni. MCCLXXIX., in festo S. Lucae Evangelistae.*' Note also that near by, in the first bay of the east nave aisle, may be seen on the wall two stones sculptured with the device of the Calimala and the arms of Fra Pagano Adimari, the Prior of the day. These are probably memorials of the same occasion, and would indicate that the work of addition was begun at this point.

and 1290, granted an Indulgence of forty days to all contributors.[1] In 1295 the City of Florence voted twelve hundred *fiorini piccoli* for the works at Santa Maria Novella, and added as much again two years later,[2] while another sum of five hundred florins, which came from the same source in 1298, may be compared with the fifty which were voted in that year for the new city walls.[3] Once more, as in 1074, City and Church rose together, edified by a common spirit of progress.[4] It was, in fact, a time of prosperity that 'the Cardinal's Peace' had brought in, and his Church was not by any means the last to profit by the new liberality natural to these awakened hopes.

Under this encouragement the work at Santa Maria Novella went forward in a progress that was reasonably rapid if not altogether regular, since it depended upon sources of income that were intermittent.[5] Tradition has it that the foundation stone was laid and building commenced at the Chapel of St. Luke, and this would well accord with the practice of the time, for Churches were generally built from the Chancel westward, and we know that Santa Croce, the great Franciscan Church of Florence, which dates from 1294, was constructed in this way.[6] By 1286 the Transepts of Santa Maria Novella were already in such order that an important interment could be carried out here.[7] In the following year the progress must have been considerable, for we find that the City then gave orders for the laying out of the new Piazza to the south of the nave, and valued the houses upon this site which were to be taken down in order to clear it.[8]

Tombs bearing dates which were once visible in the pavement of the Church mark the close of this the first and most important period of build-

[1] Also the Bishop of Florence in 1286, see Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[2] Anno 1295, 23 Sept. 'Pro Ecclesiae S. M. Novellae constructione et edificatione libr. 1200 . p. persolvendae in quatuor terminis pro anno futuro, initiando in kalend. Januarii proxime venturi.' Anno 1297, 6 Junii 'Pro Ecclesia S. M. Novellae quae de novo refficitur et rehedificatur, libr. 1200 f. p. in termino unius anni.' See Gaye, 'Carteggio Inedito,' Vol. I., pp. 429, 434.

[3] See Archivio di Stato, Repertorio Strozz., p. 28, and Gaye, *op. cit. ad annum.* The walls of the third circuit had been begun in 1284.

[4] See *ante*, p. 13.

[5] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

[6] See Villani, *sub anno* 1294, 'E cominciarsi i fondamenti prima dalla parte di dietro ove sono le cappelle, perocchè prima v'era la Chiesa Vecchia, e rimase all' ufficio de' frati infino che furono murate.' Notice how all this corresponds with our theory of S. M. Novella. *Cf.* note 6, p. 64.

[7] That of the Bishop of Florence, see Appendix.

[8] Archivio di Stato, Perg. di S. M. N., *sub anno.* See also Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

ing. From these we learn that a burial took place in the Chancel in 1303 and another in 1300 just above the steps that stretch across the middle nave.[1] And still more significant is the fact that in 1301 the Podestà Priors and people of Florence chose this Church as their meeting place when they assembled to hand over the City to King Charles of France.[2]

It is certain, therefore, that by the close of the thirteenth century the main building of Santa Maria Novella was complete, at least in those larger lines of Chancel, Transepts and Nave with which we are still familiar.[3] The detail necessary to arrive at this conclusion will be pardoned by the reader when it is remembered what a bearing it has upon our view of the second Church in its relation to that of 1279, and also as correcting in a matter of some importance the views expressed by Padre Marchese and others who have depended on him.[4] Such writers have evidently misunderstood the older authorities who give seventy years to the building of this Church. It was, in fact, completed in twenty, and the larger period must be held to cover the important additions and decorations which were carried out here during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Among these additions the great choir screen would hold the first place, were it not that we have reason to think it was built at the same time as the Nave. It was covered above and below by altars and tombs belonging to different families, and one of these burial places seems to have been built as early as 1298,[5] while with regard to another there is absolute proof that it was in existence in 1308.[6] The screen therefore may be considered an integral part of the Church itself.

This conclusion will be found more important than it seems at first sight, as it tells us what to think of the theory that the Nave of Santa Maria Novella was contrived with subtly studied intervals and in a diminishing perspective so as to increase the apparent length of the Church.[7] As a

[1] See Appendix.

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 171. The Preacher on this occasion was Fra Remigio Girolami.

[3] See the Appendix for further proof of this in the dates of the East door; the fresco of the East aisle and the holy water stoup. Observe that similarly S. Croce took 25 years in building (1294-1320).

[4] Marchese, 'Memorie,' Vol. I., p. 121 (ed. 1854).

[5] That of the Castiglioni, Arch. di Stato, Repertorio Strozz., p. 367. See also Appendix.

[6] The Minerbetti altar. See the will of Tommaso M. in Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[7] Padre Marchese, 'Memorie,' Vol. I., p. 46. Hence it has crept into several guide books, see, or instance, Gargiolli 'Description de la Ville de Florence,' 1819, Vol. I., pp. 176-77, and Horner, Walks in Florence,' 1873, Vol. II., p. 209.

matter of fact no regular series of lessening spaces can be discovered in the arches of the Nave, which, measured from the south end towards the Transepts, show a rapidly ascending scale in the first three bays, followed by a sudden fall in the fourth, while the fifth and sixth are equal.[1] Between the fourth and fifth bay stretched the Choir Screen: a massive wall encrusted with marble, and broad enough above to give room for four altars and an organ. Had any trick of perspective been tried by the architects, the screen would have been enough to destroy almost all its effect. We know, in fact, that one reason for its removal was that it interfered with the view up the Nave to the Chancel.[2]

Coming then to what may be considered genuine additions to the original ground plan of the Church, we find the first of these to have been the Rucellai Chapel of St. Catherine. This was an extension of the Transepts eastward, and was certainly built before 1325, in which year it is mentioned as already existing. At the west end of the Transepts are two buildings—the Campanile and Sacristy—of which it is difficult to determine the precise date. The former was probably erected about 1330, and the latter at or before the middle of the century.[3]

Before passing to the last considerable addition to the Church, which belongs to a much later age, there are several matters to which the order of time here calls our attention. The first is a very natural enquiry regarding the architects of these buildings. Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro did little but form the plan of the Church; who then was responsible for its execution, and for the design of the additions which it received during the first half of the fourteenth century? The answer must be that the original architects founded a school of their art within the Convent itself, and that the Dominicans of Florence had no need to seek skilled designers in stone and marble outside their own walls, or among those lay guilds of which there has been lately a tendency to exaggerate the importance. The noble tradition left by Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro was kept unbroken by three other *conversi* of Santa Maria Novella: Fra Mazzetto, Fra Albertino Mazzanti, and Fra Borghese. Of these the first spent his short life in the design and execution of the buildings at San Domenico

[1] The exact proportions are as follow :—41, 42½, 44½, 38½ [screen], 30, 30.

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[3] See Appendix.

di Prato,[1] the second seems to have been chiefly employed upon the Convent of Santa Maria Novella,[2] but Fra Borghese took up the work of the Church where its first designers had left it, and was in charge here from 1280 till his death in 1313.[3] He forms the link which connects the earlier tradition of Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro with the later labours here of Fra Giovanni Brachetti, commonly called Fra Giovanni da Campi, and Fra Jacopo Talenti da Nipozzano. Of these last, the former may well have been a pupil of Fra Borghese, as he took the habit of the Order in 1317. He died in 1339, and Fra Jacopo in 1362, and to them are due the additions which completed the original design, and brought the Church to the form it had in the middle of the fourteenth century.

To speak at large of the decoration of Santa Maria Novella would here be out of place, but one part of that decoration deserves a moment's notice as probably of exceptional extent and importance, and certainly belonging to the period of which we are now speaking: that of the fourteenth century. The paintings of the Strozzi Chapel were executed by Orgagna before 1350.[4] They represent, as is well known, the Last Judgement, Heaven, and Hell. Now at the south end of the Nave, between the great door and the one next it to the west, may still be seen a fresco of the Annunciation. The ornamental border in which this painting is set connects it well with the surrounding architecture, and as this border is unequal, being much broader on the side next the great door, we are inclined to see in it an indication that this fresco was once the first of a series. Further, when account is taken of its subject, in connection with the site and character of the paintings in the Strozzi Chapel, it is not perhaps too much to suppose that the series in question may have exhibited the chief events in the story of the faith from its commencement at the Incarnation of Christ to its close in the *tre*

[1] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 272. The Necrology says of him: 'carpentarius fuit peritus . . . obiit Prati, operi Ecclesie Fratrum nostrorum presidens et insistens, ann. Dom. 1310 . . . vixit in Ordine ann. 12, vel circa.' Note that carpentarius means architect and lignarius carpenter in this Necrology.

[2] See Necrology in Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 367, No. 218, which says of him that he was 'in edificiis et officinis Fratrum construendis persubtilis.'

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 211, 'utilis et sedulus circa opera tam Ecclesie quam Conventus . . . vixit in Ordine annos 40 et 7 mens. obiit ann. Dom. 1313, 20 Feb.'

[4] Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 595 and *note.*

nuovissime of Orgagna's Last Judgement, Heaven, and Hell.[1] This conjecture is so far supported by Padre Fineschi's statement that the Church was once painted throughout,[2] but unfortunately we have no means of knowing the names of the artists employed on the west wall. They probably worked under the direction of Fra Jacopo Passavanti, whose zeal in promoting the decoration of Santa Maria Novella we shall have further occasion to notice.

Late in the fifteenth century, after more than a hundred years of growing beauty and embellishment, which had made it one of the most remarkable Churches in Florence, or, indeed, in Italy, Santa Maria Novella received the last addition to its fabric in the shape of the Chapel of the Pura. This building occupies the east angle of Nave and Transept externally, and thus exactly balances the Sacristy which stands on a corresponding site to the West. The story of its foundation is as follows—One Sunday evening in the autumn of 1472 some boys were playing in the corner of the upper cemetery, which then occupied the site where the Chapel of the Pura now stands. Their game was a mimic warfare waged with reeds which they had no doubt plucked from the bank of the neighbouring Mugnone. Suddenly a voice called them from the Church, and one of the boys—a Ricasoli—went to the door which still opens at the corner of the Transept to see who called and what was wanted. Again the voice was heard, and the boy found it came from the *avello* or arch of the last tomb on the Nave wall. This was the burial place of the Lorini family,[3] and at the back of the avello stood an ancient fresco covered with cobwebs and dust. The voice demanded persistently that these should be cleaned away, and the young Ricasoli obeyed, using for this purpose the leafy reed he still held in his hand. Thereupon shone out the face of the Madonna, which had been painted here in a Holy Family with St. Agnes, adored by a youthful Lorini. The news of this

[1] The will of Torino del fù Baldese bears date 22 July, 1348, and provides that the *Church* should be painted with the History of the Old Testament 'fino alla fine, nel luogo che fosse paruto opportuno a Fra Jacopo Passavanti.' It has been customary to suppose that this money was spent in the Chiostro Verde, but since Paolo Uccelli and Dello Delli who worked there belonged to the following century, it is not easy to understand such delay. May we not suppose it possible that some license was taken with the terms of the will, and that Passavanti employed Torino's legacy in having the west wall of the Church painted by Orgagna and others?

[2] See his life of Fra Jacopo Passavanti, Bibl. Naz. Flor. MSS. dei Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491.

[3] Rosselli in his 'Sepoltuario' says the avello belonged to the Ricasoli. It certainly stood back to back with the altar of that family within the Church.

miracle, for so it was regarded, spread quickly through the city. The Virgin, it was said, had spoken, and desired that her image should be freed from the obscuring traces of a long neglect. People began to crowd this corner of the churchyard, chanting here their Ave Maria every evening before what soon came to be called the Madonna della Pura, in terms of the request the Virgin was believed to have made. Two years later Ranieri and Lorenzo, sons of Andrea Ricasoli whose family had been so highly favoured in the matter, thought well to enclose this part of the cemetery for the comfort of worshippers resorting hither. A confraternity of the new devotion was soon formed, and in 1545 they got possession of a neglected vault under the adjoining Chapel of St. Catherine, which they connected with that of the Pura by a door and stair contrived in the thickness of the Transept wall.[1] Thus the first addition to the Church is joined structurally with the last considerable extension it received, and the middle of the sixteenth century marks a completed cycle of progress and adornment in Santa Maria Novella.

The new age opened with what can only be described as an invasion of Vandals, and continued in a persistent neglect and destruction, which, lasting down to our own day, are responsible for the sadly altered condition in which we now see the Church. The Grand Duke Cosimo I. pretended absolute rights over the buildings,[2] and in accordance with his instructions and the baser taste of the day Vasari drew up a very complete plan of 'restoration' under which Santa Maria Novella soon shared the fate of Santa Croce and Ognissanti.[3] The ancient three-fold division of

[1] For this story of the founding of the Pura Chapel and its subsequent fortunes, see Fineschi, 'Memorie del Cimitero,' and compare the corresponding account by Rosselli in his 'Sepoltuario,' MS. Bibl. Naz. Flor.

[2] See his answer to the 'Supplica' of the Spaniards, 1567, in which he says, 'li Frati in questo non ci hanno che fare, e se pure ci havevano che fare gli altri, questi non ci hanno che fare nulla, che tutto hanno hauto da noi, per le male opere de gl'altri, però non vogliamo che in cose di fabbrica o ornamento o bonificamento della Chiesa et del Convento si habbia a impacciarne li Frati, che saria troppa presunzione et ingratitudine la loro.' Bibl. Naz. Flor. VIII., 1486. Cosimo had driven out the Conventuals and replaced them by the Frati dell' Osservauza.

[3] See the plan in Fineschi, 'Memorie' Vol I., pp. 22, 23. It proposes to draw forward and heighten the High Altar and place a double Choir behind it with a private access from the Dormitory; to remove the 'Ponte' or Screen with the adjoining Choir; to arrange the altars one in each of the twelve bays of the Nave and no more; to alter that of the Giuochi, as the family was extinct; to make a way from the cell of the Sacristan to the Organ loft; to assemble elsewhere in one the four Altars on the upper Screen; and finally closes with these words:—'The architect shall have power, if needful, to remove or change tombs or doors as may suit the convenience of the work, giving them as good a place as they had or better.'

the Church into Nave, Choir and Chancel disappeared with the removal of the screen, itself a precious monument and perfect museum of sculpture and painting, whose wanton destruction one is glad to be able to say took place amid popular regret and disapproval.[1] The pleasing irregularity of the aisle chapels, built at various times by different families, and showing so much that was individual in their decorations, gave place to the uninteresting monotony of Vasari's altars, with what ruin to the dim glory of the frescoes that once adorned these walls it is needless to say, since a coat of yellow wash has covered their poor remains. Tombs, altars, and pictures changed places in a movement, and with a madness, which suggests some infernal dance meant to baffle the brains of the student who to-day attempts to trace their changes and story. Even the bones of the Beato Giovanni da Salerno, the founder of the Dominican Religion in Florence, were not left in peace, but, lifted from the East aisle, were placed under the High Altar during the progress of these works and finally laid to rest in a new tomb near the Sacristy.[2]

This 'restoration' lasted from 1565 to 1571, and of the spirit in which it was carried on we may judge by Vasari's own account of how he dealt with one of the earliest and most interesting frescoes in the Church. 'This painting,' he says, 'though it be not very good, deserves some praise . . . and I have used it in the histories I painted for Duke Cosimo . . . thus we may make capital of the fancy and labour of these ancients even when their works are imperfect,'[3] and so saying he gave them speedy burial under a coat of whitewash. But how many of Vasari's pictures would we gladly give to-day for one glimpse of a wall where the labour of Bruno filled in 1305 the outlines that Buffalmacco had traced!

Irreparable has been the loss sustained by the Church in this the most unfortunate epoch of its history. With the fall of the screen and the removal of the ancient altars most of the smaller and more movable works of art which once adorned them have disappeared for ever. A few marbles, indeed, still stand in the Church, though divorced from their old surroundings and deprived of half their interest.[4] Some of the pictures adorn the public collections of Florence; the rest, a Botticelli, a

[1] Gaye, 'Carteggio Inedito,' Vol. II., Appendice, p. 480.

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 23–25.

[3] Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 515.

[4] See Appendix.

Gaddi, and two Fra Angelicos among the number, are gone beyond recall, taken by the Grand Duke perhaps, or more naturally and rightly reclaimed by the private families to which they belonged, but in any case lost to the people's view and to the inquiries of the student of art. The Grand Duke and his servant Vasari may fairly be commended to the benevolence of those who would fain have quenched Savonarola's bonfire of vanities with their tears, or bewail the barbarity of Knox, who, almost in Vasari's hour, though breathing a far other spirit, 'kaimed clean' the Kirk of Glasgow.

The changes of the sixteenth century, severe as they were, had yet spared one part of the Church—the floor—in which might still be seen, in a pleasing irregularity that lasted two hundred years, and which must have resembled the present pavement of Santa Croce, the tombs of the noble and illustrious dead. Later, the floor was relaid with marble, and the memorial stones gathered from their original places into a long double file, which now extends between pillar and pillar down each side of the Nave. Thus almost in our own time the final stroke was given to a tasteless restoration which Vasari had begun, and the Church of Santa Maria Novella lost what was well nigh the last link that connected it with the days of its ancient glory and beauty. The student of her memories may still painfully recover from documents[1] a mental vision of what the place once was, but even this, which few can ever attain, must ever be poor and pale compared with that reality which might have delighted us to-day had it not chanced to displease the false taste to which such a free hand has again and again been given.[2]

[1] Consult the MS. Sepoltuario of Rosselli and of Foresi in the Bibl. Naz. of Florence; the Cartapecore di S. M. Novella, add. MS. No. 2, saec. XVII. in the Archivio di Stato; and MS. dei Conventi Sopp. E. 5. 777, in the Bibl. Naz. Flor. There is also a pretty complete list printed in the 'Delizie degli Eruditi,' IX., pp. 111-255, and in Fineschi, 'Memorie dei Cimiteri di S. M. Novella.'

[2] The fifteenth century possessed a book, now lost, entitled 'De Pulchritudine S. Mariae Novellae.' Savonarola quotes it in one of his discourses. See Burlamacchi, 'Vita di F. G. S., Lucca,' 1761, pp. 78, 79.

CHAPTER III.

The Convent.

WE have already seen that in 1221, the year when the Dominicans took possession of Santa Maria Novella, neither the complexion of the times nor the purpose of the Order favoured any large scheme of rebuilding. Enough if the Canons' Cloister, already ancient here, were adapted so as to serve commodiously the needs of the Friars. For this purpose the trustees parted with the property at Polverosa and the ground annuals in the Borgo, and applied the proceeds as the Legate had directed.[1] The possession of the Dominicans was limited to the existing buildings, and the land given them was expressly destined for the convent garden,[2] which makes it certain that the building then undertaken was no more than what might be implied in the necessary alterations carried out in the Canons' Cloister, or at most the raising of an additional storey there. Called to use the sword rather than the trowel, the Friars bethought them of war and not of peace, and the first years of their residence in Santa Maria Novella were passed in what was a strong and narrow shelter rather than a wide or spacious abode.

As soon, however, as the close of the Patarene war came into view, and work was begun on the new Church, the Dominicans took thought for the Convent as well. The number of their brotherhood had so increased as to make this matter of necessity, and we have proof of the straits to which they were put as early as 1243, when the Treasurer bought land in the Borgo.[3] For this purchase may surely be connected

[1] See the Appendix to Part I., p. 48.

[2] See the Appendix to Part I., p. 48.

[3] Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., p. 142.

with the fact that a year later we find mention made of 'the Chapter house of the Church near the walls of Florence in the Borgo of Santa Maria Novella.'[1] This transference of the Chapter from its natural situation in the Convent itself can only be explained as an expedient adopted to increase the living room at Santa Maria Novella.

Such a makeshift, however, must soon have been felt insufficient and indeed unworthy of a great and growing power like that of the Dominicans in Florence, and hardly had the Church of 1246 been completed when preparations were begun for the first considerable addition to the Convent. The only available building site was in the garden, which lay southward from the Cloister and reached as far as the back of the houses on the North side of what is now the Via della Scala:[2] the Borgo San Paolo as it was then called. In 1250 and 1252 the Clergy of San Paolo parted with three pieces of their ground here to the Dominicans. One of these had already a wall of division between the Parishes built upon it, and the other two were acquired by the Frati in order that they might continue that building behind the houses of the Borgo San Paolo, thus making their enclosure complete.[3]

Within this limit, then, in the years that followed, the new buildings of the Convent rose gradually, covering much of the garden to the northward, and in time spreading west as far as the present Pharmacy, which opens on the Via della Scala. Fineschi tells us that the Compagnia delle Laudi—the oldest Confraternity of Santa Maria Novella, which was founded by Peter of Verona in 1243—had its *schola* or chief seat just within the great Convent gate opening on the Piazza. Now this *schola* is mentioned in a document of 1285, which shows that building had already come almost to its extreme limit in an eastward direction.[4] On the other hand the Infirmary Cloister is mentioned in 1291,[5] and is probably the very place on which we can still look out from the windows of the Pharmacy parlour at the south-western end of the Convent. It was no doubt meant for the growing of fragrant and medicinal herbs: in fact, a little bed or plot of the old garden destined for this special purpose, as the Friars were fond of dispensing their own simples, and on which, therefore,

[1] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.
[4] Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella, 15 April, 1285, printed in Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
[5] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

they did not suffer the new buildings to intrude.[1] In erecting them, at least from the year 1284, when he entered the Order, Fra Albertino Cambi, called Mazzante, did good service to his brethren, who on his death gave him due praise as 'an architect most skilful in constructing the buildings and offices of the Convent.'[2]

It is worth while that we should try to realise the appearance of things at Santa Maria Novella towards the close of the thirteenth century, if only that we may take account of the curious state of transition which these buildings then exhibited. In the angle, then, between the side of the Piazza and the Via della Scala, and bounded on the north by a line drawn from the Convent Gate to the Pharmacy, had grown up a new system of courts and buildings intended not for lodging but for service of various kinds: stores and cellars for wine, oil, and grain, in which most of the Convent rents were paid; a great kitchen to serve the Refectory; offices for the controllers and Operai of the Church; a School and Confraternity room; an Infirmary and Pharmacy: in short, all the appurtenances of Monastic life on the grand scale. But observe that as yet these were not connected structurally in any way with the buildings of the Convent proper: the ancient Cloister of residence which had first belonged to the Canons of Florence, and now, in a somewhat altered and enlarged condition, served still the larger needs of the Dominican Friars. For between them lay the garden, much reduced indeed by the encroachments made on it from the south, but still covering a space of ground which is fairly represented to-day by the Green Cloister, and perhaps extending even farther to the west. To the north of this open space, green in these days with growth rather than by art, lay in a broken line the older buildings: to the left the Dormitory, giving its gable to the garden; next the ancient Chapel of the Virgin, and beside it the opening of the Cemetery road, beyond which, to the right, still stood the remaining walls of the old Church of 1094, now cut sharply in two by the new Nave which, stretching southward to the Piazza, formed the eastern boundary of the garden. This picturesque irregularity in the buildings was already touched with colour and heightened by art, for just where Memmi's altarpiece now stands at the north-west corner of the Cloister, there was a door

[1] The old Obit book (1221–80) mentions 'Fra Albertinus Medicus' about midway in the list (∴ + c. 1250), see Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[2] Necrology of the Convent, No. 218, anno 1319, in Fineschi, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

to the Dormitory over which in a lunette appeared the figure of a Madonna, painted, it is said, by Cimabue or one of his scholars.[1] The trees and beds of the Convent garden made a brave foreground to all this varied form and colour, and we may feel sure that the Friars who thus cared in the heat of their other building to adorn their more ancient walls with new art, and that of the best, were not likely to plan in a hurry the destruction of these. They would deal with the Convent as had been done once and again in the case of the successive Churches here : incorporation not destruction would be their device, whereby the old would remain and become subtly one with the new in some other and skilfully contrived relation.

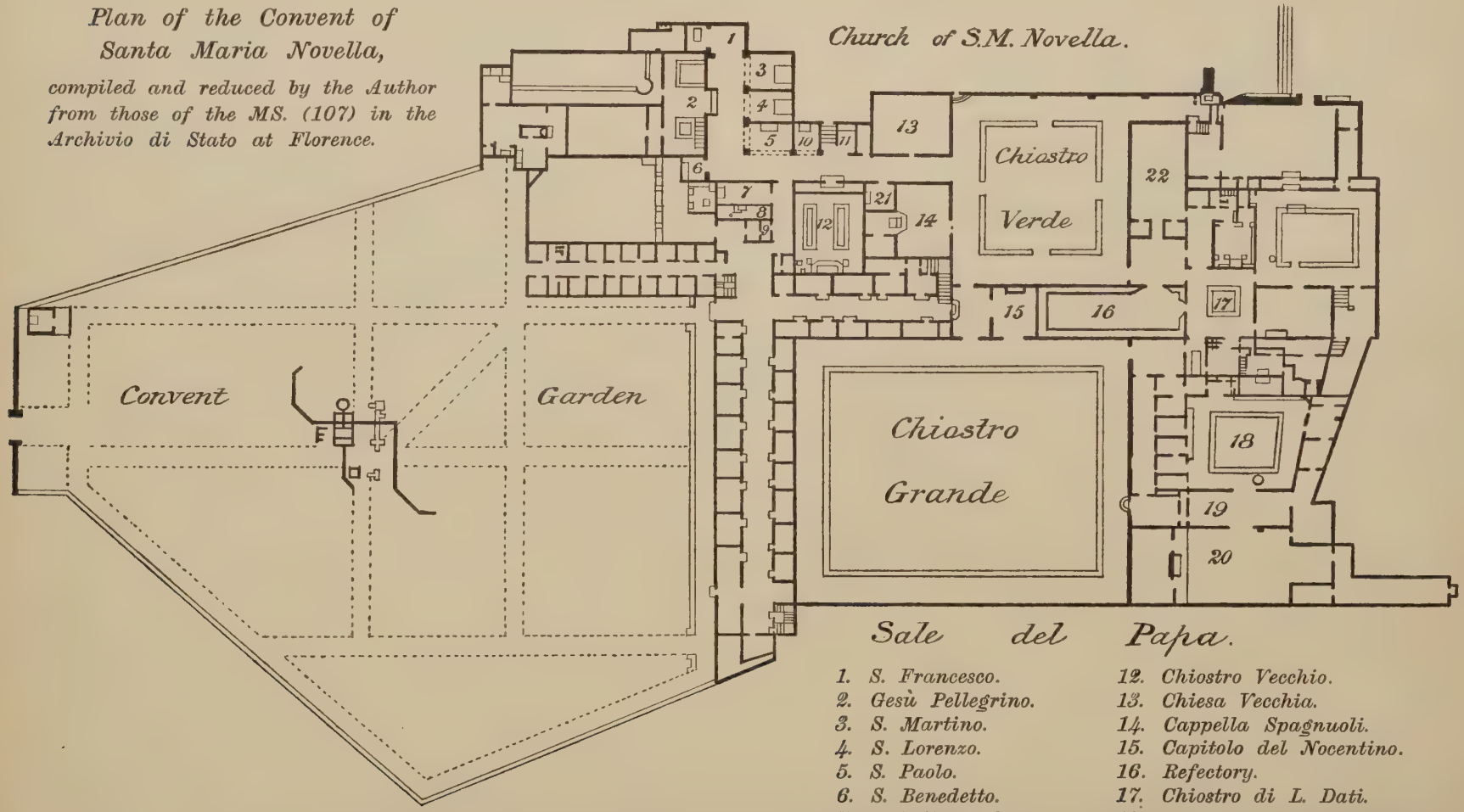
The problem obviously lay in the open space, occupied partly by the Convent garden and partly by private properties, which still separated the older buildings from the new, and its solution was found in the bold plan of the Great Cloister which, cleverly avoiding the garden, promised to unite the distant Infirmary at the extreme west with the nearer and original Cloister of Santa Maria Novella on the east. Thus far all is plain and easy, our difficulties begin with the questions of date and time and the order in which the different parts of this scheme were executed. Padre Fineschi, influenced perhaps by the scale on which these works were conceived—for the Great Cloister is one of the largest in Italy—cannot think that the Frati ventured upon it without more certain means than the irregularity of pious donations could supply. He therefore connects this scheme with the year 1294, when the City made a grant to Santa Maria Novella of ten thousand gold florins and a hundred measures of lime to be continued annually for a certain time.[2] This, he says, was employed in building the ground storey of the Great Cloister, but as he alleges no authority for such a statement, and proceeds to name Fra Giovanni da Campi as the architect, we find his suggestion unconvincing. In 1294 the building of the new Church was at its height, and for this we are inclined to think the civic liberality must have been designed. And even if something might well be spared to the Convent works from so large a grant, it seems fantastic to connect with it in any way the name of Fra Giovanni, who did not enter the Order till 1317. Plainly the whole matter has need of more cautious handling.

[1] 'Da antico pittore alla maniera di Cimabue,' Biblioteca Naz. Flor. MSS. de' Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491, Life of Fra Jacopo Passavanti.

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 254.

Plan of the Convent of Santa Maria Novella,

compiled and reduced by the Author from those of the MS. (107) in the Archivio di Stato at Florence.



1. *S. Francesco.*
2. *Gesù Pellegrino.*
3. *S. Martino.*
4. *S. Lorenzo.*
5. *S. Paolo.*
6. *S. Benedetto.*
7. *S. Filippo, &c.*
8. *S. T. d'Aquino.*
9. *S. Giuseppe.*
10. *S. Anna.*
11. *S. Antonio.*
12. *Chiostro Vecchio.*
13. *Chiesa Vecchia.*
14. *Cappella Spagnuoli.*
15. *Capitolo del Nocentino.*
16. *Refectory.*
17. *Chiostro di L. Dati.*
18. *,, dell' Infermeria.*
19. *Spezieria.*
20. *S. Niccolò.*
21. *S. M. Annunziata.*
22. *Kitchens?*

Keeping in view the possibility that the 'Infirmary,' mentioned in 1291, may have been at least part of the lower building on the south side of the Chiostro Grande—the Infirmary of later times—we may begin with the year 1303 as at least marking an important moment in the execution of this plan, if not, indeed, the very commencement of work on the Great Cloister. Madonna Tuccia, widow of Aliotto Ubriachi, was the owner of a piece of ground lying close beside the garden to the west, and thus forming part of the site required for the projected works. In the year mentioned she gave it to the Dominicans,[1] and here a relation of her husband's, Baldassare Ubriachi, built the Convent a Chapter House, called the Capitolo del Nocentino from its dedication to the worship of the Infant Jesus by the three kings.[2] This building must have been completed before 1308, for we find that the house in the Borgo, which had been used by the Friars for their meetings ever since 1244, was then transferred to Tertiaries of St. Dominic, called the Pinzochere di Penitenza, in whose favour it was made into a regular place of religion under the name of the Monastero del Capitolo.[3] We may remark in passing that the Borgo or Via Valfonda became in 1318 the scene of a sufficiently noteworthy experiment, no less than the establishment of the first Medical Mission in Florence. The founder was Fra Remigio Girolami, Prior of Santa Maria Novella, who sold his very books to provide a house where the sick might be attended, and to pay a priest for their service. Some Dominican skilled in simples would be Infirmarius here, and the medicines would be supplied from the Convent Pharmacy.[4]

Returning to the Capitolo del Nocentino, it is worth notice that this building turned its back on the garden and opened on the site of the Great Cloister by a door which still bears on its lintel a sculptured scene representing the visit of the three Kings to Bethlehem. By this the place, now sadly altered, may be identified, and the direction of the door assures

[1] Ten *stiora* of land, which had belonged to Marabottino Tornaquinci and his son Tieri. Fineschi, 'Forestiero Istruito.'

[2] Fineschi in his 'Forestiero Istruito' tells us that in later times the altar of this Capitolo was adorned with a beautiful picture representing the Massacre at Bethlehem, ascribed by some to Botticelli, and by others to 'un' più illustre e delicato pennello' (? Fra Angelico). This was painted for the Confraternity of the Holy Innocents, who possessed the Capitolo of the Ubriachi from 1466.

[3] Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., p. 361, note. See also the same volume at p. 148, where it appears that in 1258 these Tertiaries lived at the Piazza Vecchia. The Monastero del Capitolo was dedicated to St. Vincent Ferrer.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

us that when the new Chapter house was built the Great Cloister was already at least projected, if not also in part provided for and laid out.

Indications of a considerable pause in the works occur at this point, and lead us to suppose they may have been interrupted for some time after the building of the Chapter house. For the next record bearing on the Convent buildings transports us elsewhere, and shows us an edifice rising within the region of the offices just beside the gate on the Piazza. This was the Hospitium or guest house, to the building of which the City contributed two hundred lire in 1319 when the walls were nearly finished. This grant expressly contemplated the use of the Hospitium as a lodging for officials of the Republic.[1]

We are now come to the year 1320, and in the absence of positive proof one way or other we are inclined to think that the ten following years were the period when the plan of the Great Cloister made its first considerable advance towards complete realisation. If Padre Fineschi had any just reason for naming Fra Giovanni da Campi as the architect, this would be the time of his early activity in the service of the Dominicans, as in 1320 he had been just three years in the Order.[2] The chief works of the Church were over; his talents must have found scope within the Convent, and there it was not the offices, already tolerably complete, but the Chiostro Grande that demanded attention. What evidence there is in direct support of this general probability we shall presently see.

In 1332 a remarkable incident occurred deserving notice not only in itself but because of its important consequences with regard to the Great Cloister and its buildings. In these days the private houses of the Borgo San Paolo or Via della Scala, which adjoined the Infirmary at the south-west corner of the Cloister, belonged some of them to the great and wealthy family of the Acciaiuoli. In the summer of 1332 Dardano Acciaiuoli lay sick of fever here, and dreamed of grapes, desiring them to cool the thirst that consumed him. The month was July, but it chanced that already in the vineyard of the Convent some early grapes were fit for use and the Friars made no difficulty in sending them to their suffering neighbour. His fever presently left him and in gratitude he set about

[1] See Gaye, 'Carteggio Inedito,' Vol. I., 1319, March 26. The resolution declares that the Frati of S. M. Novella have resolved to build 'circa portam eorum Conventus quandam domum' sufficiently spacious, which is already got as far as the top of the walls, and promises to be convenient as a lodging for the officials of the Commune and others, for which purpose the Convent itself has been often called upon and found insufficient.

[2] See P. Vincenzo Marchese, 'Memorie.'

the building of a Chapel on the Great Cloister, which might serve as a place of worship for the adjoining Infirmary. Dedicated to St. Nicholas of Bari it was completed in 1334, and, as we shall afterwards see, became by reason of its decorations one of the most beautiful and interesting buildings of the Convent. The Founder spent more than twelve hundred florins upon it, and, dying in 1335, was here buried.[1] The ornamented gable of this Chapel still shows plainly over the arcade of the Great Cloister at the south-west corner, and we may regard its foundation as a fresh impulse given to further and higher building about this part of the Convent.

'Long before' 1334, the records assure us,[2] work had already begun at another point on the east side of this Cloister, where it took the form of an 'addition to the Dormitory,' probably an upper storey which the Friars were raising upon the buildings of the more ancient Cloister, where they entered into those of the Chiostro Grande. Hardly, however, had some progress been made here when the works were interrupted by the disastrous floods of 1333, which laid a considerable part of Florence under water and did much damage at Santa Maria Novella. The Dominicans appealed to the City for help, and it is probable that the disaster of 1333 turned out rather to their advantage. It not only excited in their favour a general sympathy, but inclined them to extend their plans and contemplate carrying this upper storey, which had been begun on the old Dormitory, round the remaining sides of the Cloister. So for the future they would be safe from floods, and would enjoy more ample and healthy lodging.

Padre Borghigiani is quoted by Marchese to the effect that when the Friars began to put this plan into execution it was found that the walls and pillars of the arcades were not strong enough to sustain the new weight for which they had not been designed, and that they had to be

[1] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. de' Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491, Life of Fra Angelo Acciaiuoli; Archivio di Stato, Books of S. M. Novella, No. 91, *sub anno* 1332. The latter authority ascribes only part of the building to Dardano, 'concorse alla muraglia della Cappella di S. Niccolo' . . . e dette fior. 1000, e di più vi spese fior. 80. He also lent the Frati 200 florins to build the Chapel, and at his death in 1335 was buried here. Rosselli in his 'Sepoltuario' gives the inscription on his tomb: 'Qui giace l'onorato corpo di Dardano Acciaiuoli il quale fece fare questa Cappella pro rimedio dell' anima sua e de' suoi discendenti Anno Dni. 1334, die VI. Junii.' He also reports another burial here, that of Fra Giovanni Acciaiuoli, Bishop of Cesena, son of Monte Acciaiuoli.

[2] Gaye, 'Carteggio Inedito,' Vol. I., 12 April, 1334, 'iam longo tempore inchoatam.'

rebuilt and strengthened.[1] The general sympathy of which we have spoken found here the opportunity of showing itself in a practical way, and the heraldry of these arcades still bears witness to the private liberality which, in the years that followed the great flood, brought them at last to their present form. We thus learn that the western arcade was built by the Falconi da Lucignano, the south-western angle by Fra Simone Saltarelli, Archbishop of Pisa, and the southern Arcade by the Bostichi and Infangati.[2]

With regard to the Dormitory mentioned in the appeal of 1334 more exact details are forthcoming. The Prior in that year was Fra Andrea del Gallo, and he devised an ingenious plan to encourage its completion. The Friars were promised that whoever should find means to build a cell here it should be his own for life, with the right to sublet it to any brother of the Order desirous of occupying it in his absence.[3] Notwithstanding this encouragement, however, the Dormitory, like the rest of the Great Cloister, came in the end to depend on the pious contributions of the faithful. It was completed in the Priorate of Fra Michele dei Pilastri, who employed for this purpose money given him by Bartolo di Cino Benvenuti, a rich merchant of Florence. The Prior finished these works by building a stair of access which led upwards to the Dormitory from the door opening on the garden. The arms of the Cini are still to be seen about this part of the Convent.[4]

A curious story is told of this door, but if we are to understand it rightly we must pause a little in order to realise the state of things here in these days. It is to be remembered then, that the ground now occupied by the Green Cloister was a simple garden, on one corner of which the door in question opened. From it a path led eastward beside the ancient buildings to the stair of access by which one can still enter the Church aisle at a point which then lay behind the Choir Screen. This was the Friars' walk, by which they went to Choir from the Dormitory.

[1] See Marchese, 'Memorie,' Vol. I.

[2] Not without some signs that the Falconi and Scolari may have helped here. See Rosselli's 'Sepoltuario, which further mentions a shield, 'a scacchi,' of some other family unknown. This is still visible over the door at the east end of the Infirmary on the south side of the Cloister. The arms are those of the city of Pistoia.

[3] Archivio di Stato, Books of S. M. Novella, No. 91, *sub anno* 1334.

[4] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS de' Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491, Life of Fra Michele de' Pilastri, 'accomodando la scala che dal Chiostro Verde saliva in Convento.' For mention of the Cini coat, which is still visible, see Rosselli's 'Sepoltuario.'

The garden, we must repeat, lay in a quadrangle which was such not by design, but only because the surrounding buildings were rectangular, and happened to turn their backs upon it in a regular fashion. An easy and public access led to its lower side from the Convent Gate on the new Piazza, and, in fact, it was hardly counted as part of the *Clausura*, the Convent proper, which only began at the Dormitory door in its north-west corner.[1] Over this door, it will be remembered, stood a painting of the Madonna, executed some fifty years before the time of which our story speaks.

To this place, then—so the tale runs—came one day a desperate gambler. He had staked and lost his all in some house of play, and now, transported with despair, hurled his dagger at the holy image in a revenge which suggests some previous prayer and vow to this particular Madonna. The blow, it is said, took strange effect, causing the very wall to bleed, and the author of the outrage soon after expiated his crime on the Piazza of Santa Maria Novella where he was presently hanged.[2]

So curious an incident, whatever may be thought of its details, certainly confirms our view regarding the condition of this part of the Convent grounds, as it shows how free the access to them then was. And the sequel is no less interesting, for it connects with this story a new development of the Convent buildings, and explains some features of their architecture with which every visitor here is soon familiar. The Friars, scandalised by what had happened, closed the Dormitory door, building before it an altar of expiation: the same which bears to-day the polyptych of Memmi. To replace the lost convenience a passage with an internal stair was opened between the Dormitory and the Capitolo del Nocentino, thus immediately connecting the garden with the Great Cloister.[3] Over the arch of this passage on the garden side may still be seen a fresco of the Crucifixion, with St. Dominic and St. Thomas Aquinas. This picture, in spite of much restoration, has been generally identified as the work of Stefano

[1] How late this idea lasted may be seen in the Sepoltuario of Rosselli, who, writing in 1657 of the passage from the Green to the Great Cloister, uses the expression 'entrando dunque in Convento,' as if the Clausura began here.

[2] Biliotti's Chronicle, MS. of 1586, quoted by Fineschi, Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. de' Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491, Life of Fra Michele de' Pilastri.

[3] *Ibid.* The money for these alterations was given by the sons of Bartolo di Cino Benvenuti, by help of whom the stair was rebuilt and the steps from the Green Cloister to the Church were formed. They also built part of the Great Cloister, and at the head of the Dormitory stair a window was placed with their arms and the figures of the Madonna and child, with San Zanobi and San Domenico. This was still visible in Fineschi's time (1790).

Fiorentino of which Vasari speaks.[1] Were this beyond doubt it would help to fix the latest limit of all these occurrences, for after the outrage came successively the closing of the old door to the Dormitory, the opening of the new passage, and finally the work of decoration here. Now Stefano, according to Vasari, probably died in 1350.[2]

It is fortunate that another detail of what was done here leads to the same conclusion as regards the date of these works. Fineschi tells us that in his day there might still be seen in the passage between the Cloisters, at its eastern end, certain signs that here had been placed the frame and leaves of the ancient Bargello door. These it seems were presented by the city to Fra Angelo Acciaiuoli of this Convent, then Bishop of Florence, in gratitude for the part he had taken in suppressing the tyranny of the Duke of Athens.[3] The Duke was expelled in 1343, and two years later the door of his residence passed into the hands of the Bishop, so that there is every reason to suppose that the new passage in the Convent of Santa Maria Novella was finished before the middle of the fourteenth century.

The outrage to the image of the Virgin seems to have called special attention to the garden in which it occurred, and the idea now perhaps for the first time occurred to the Frati that it might be well to secure more privacy here by forming this open space into a regular Cloister. For what would thus be lost compensation might be found elsewhere. Santa Maria Novella had a still more ancient garden lying to the north, between the Church and the houses of the Borgo,[4] and from this time, and the project of the Green Cloister, we may fairly date the development which carried these cultivated grounds north and westward from the Convent buildings over the wide site of the present Railway Station.

The plan of the new Cloister was entrusted to Fra Jacopo Talenti

[1] Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 449, who says 'dipinse dopo, nel primo Chiostro di Santa Maria Novella, un San Tommaso d'Aquino allato a una porta ; dove fece ancora un Crocifisso.' The fresco shows St. Thomas on one side of the door, and St. Dominic on the other, both forming one composition with the crucifix above. If this were the work described by Vasari, it is strange he should mention one figure with the crucifix and omit the other. See also the remarks on p. 87 *infra*. The MS. xiii. 89 of the Bibl. Naz. Flor. says: 'S. T. Aquino nel chiostro dav. porta—Stefano.'

[2] Vasari, *op. cit.*, p. 456, 'egli morì, per quanto si dice, l'anno che cominciò il giubbileo del 1350.'

[3] Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero,' p. 130: who relies on the Chronicle of Biliotti, but mentions that traces of the old door were still visible in 1787.

[4] See Appendix to Part I., deed of Sept. 24, 1209.

da Nipozzano, an experienced architect, then in the service of the Convent. At the death of Fra Giovanni da Campi in 1339 he had succeeded him as Master of Works in Santa Maria Novella, and from 1338 to 1340 had superintended the building of the Library, an upper storey which looks from the North upon the Friars' burial place. It is still marked by a sculptured stone bearing the arms of the Baldesi who doubtless contributed to its erection.[1]

On the Green Cloister building seems to have begun about 1350, when Mico Guidalotti obtained from the Convent a site for the erection of the new Chapter House which he proposed to build.[2] This lay on the north side of the garden, and reached from the Dormitory to the Burial Vault, including almost the whole south side of the ancient Cloister with the original Chapel of the Virgin.[3] These buildings were now swept away, and in their place rose the magnificent structure we admire to-day under the name of the Spanish Chapel. Both the Chapter House and the Cloister in front of it bear the Guidalotti arms in memory of the founder's liberality.[4] The breadth of the covered way here distinguishes it noticeably from the remaining arcades of the Green Cloister, and not without meaning.[5] Running from the new door on the west, past the Chapter House the Burial Vault and the ancient Parish Church, to the side door in the new Nave, it had a distinct purpose of its own in sheltering from sun and rain the accustomed way by which the Friars went to Choir from their Dormitory. The Chapter House and its arcade were finished before 1355,[6] and the remaining sides of the Green Cloister soon followed. Their heraldry shows that the eastern arcade next the Church was built at the expense of the Da Castiglione family, while those on the south and west were raised by the Lucalberti, hereditary Treasurers of the city of Florence.[7] The western arcade depends on the wall of the Great Refectory, but as the arches of that lofty hall were being completed in

[1] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. de' Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491, Life of Fra Jacopo Passavanti.

[2] For this date and all further details, see Part III.

[3] Padre V. Marchese, 'Memorie,' Vol. I., p. 143. "Buonamico di Lapo Guidalotti mercante Fiorentino, acquistata una piccola Cappella contigua alla Chiesa Vecchia di S. M. Novella, fece porre le fondamenta del vasto Capitolo.'

[4] 'Un ala azzurra in campo dorato, e segnata quasi nel suo centro da una crocetta d'Oro,' Mecatti, 'Notizie Istoriche,' 1737.

[5] The proportion is about 21 to 18 or thereby.

[6] This appears from Guidalotti's will. See Part III.

[7] See Rosselli's 'Sepoltuario.'

1359[1] there is no reason to allow more than ten years for the completion of the Green Cloister from its commencement in 1350.

In the decoration of the Chiostro Verde three periods may plainly be distinguished. The north side—in the fresco attributed to Stefano, and the Tree of the Dominican Order on the wall of the first Church—shows work that had been done before this place became a Cloister at all. But on the vaults of the southern arcade have lately been brought to light some frescoed roundels with portraits of Saints and Doctors, and these with a lost figure of St. Dominic enjoining silence, which once stood in the lunette—now a window—over the door of the Spanish Chapel,[2] may probably be referred to the latter part of the fourteenth century. The remaining walls of the Cloister on the east, south, and west bear the well-known series of subjects from Old Testament History.[3] They are the work of many different hands, though the whole is now commonly connected with the names of Dello Delli and Paolo Uccello. The latter, at least in what he did on the east side of the Cloister, would seem to have played the part of a restorer of earlier work, and in their turn his frescoes have suffered from the dampness of what is practically a retaining wall.[4] This, the third period of decoration, did not close till a hundred years after the Cloister had been built.

The talents of Fra Jacopo da Nipozzano found employment not only in forming the Chiostro Verde, but also in advancing the works of the Great Cloister which adjoined it. The second Dormitory, called *della Cappella* for a reason presently to be mentioned, soon rose in connection with the first, but at right angles to it over the north side of the Cloister. It was completed soon after 1356, when Fra Angelo Acciaiuoli, now Bishop of Monte Cassino, sent a donation of a thousand florins for that purpose.[5] We have already touched on the building of the Great Refectory, and may return to it now, as on its western side it entered into the structure of the Chiostro Grande from the Capitolo del Nocentino to the south-eastern angle of the Cloister. Biliotti supposes that the arms still visible on the capitals of the Refectory hall show it to have

[1] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. de' Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491, Life of Fra Michele de' Pilastri, where Fineschi quotes the Chronicle of Biliotti.

[2] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. de' Conventi Sopp. 777, E. 5.

[3] For a detailed account of these, see Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 158, 209.

[4] See the reason of this *infra*, p. 96.

[5] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. de' Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491, Life of Fra Angelo Acciaiuoli. See also No. 91 of the Books of S. M. Novella in the Archivio di Stato, *sub anno* 1356.

been built in part at the expense of the Prior, Fra Michele de' Pilastri, who, it will be remembered, also completed the upper storey of the adjoining Dormitory to the north.[1] For the decoration of the Refectory Fra Jacopo Passavanti, dying in 1357, left a legacy of one hundred and ten florins.[2] How these were spent we do not know, but the great fresco of the Miraculous Provision in the Wilderness, painted by Allori in 1597 on the north end wall, encloses as in a frame a much earlier work which those who have seen it describe as a fresco by Andrea del Castagno.[3] Even this, however, would be painted too late for us to regard it as paid for by Passavanti's legacy, and it is much to be desired that the other walls should be examined to see whether below the whitewash they may not still bear fragments of older paintings.

Over the Refectory rose the Novitiate, which still bears the shields of the Ubriachi and Strozzi.[4] On the north it joined the upper storey of the Dormitory, and, from the point where they met, a loggia, supported on Guidalotti's arcade in the Green Cloister, ran eastwards towards the Church. This upper arcade was still standing in 1768, but has since been removed.[5] From the southern end of the Novitiate yet another Dormitory was built westward over part of the Infirmary, which occupied the ground floor on the south side of the Great Cloister. This Dormitory, as well as the Novitiate, was erected at the expense of Fra Alessio Strozzi, who died in 1383,[6] and whose lifetime marks the close of the second period of building in the Great Cloister. It now stood complete save only the western side to which the upper storey was still wanting.

Before leaving the fourteenth century for the fifteenth, or proceeding to show how this want was supplied, and the Great Cloister completed

[1] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. de' Conventi Sopp. F. 5, 491, Life of Fra Michele de' Pilastri, where Biliotti says :—'in columnarum utique capitellis diversa apparent signa ; in superioribus namque Beatissime Virginis apparent utrinque similitudines, in mediis sunt Pilliae gentis insignia, in inferioribus vero, ostioque proximioribus, Archangeli Michaelis videmus imagines, ex quo fit quod ego facillime credam . . . hanc aulam erectam pecunia a Fratre Michaelio Pilastro Florentino, viro doctissimo,' etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, Life of Fra Jacopo Passavanti.

[3] The Canonico Antonio Petrei (in Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. xiii. 89 at p. 54) says :—'Uno cienacolo cogli Apostoli nel Refettorio—Andreino degli Impichati.'

[4] See the 'Sepoltuario' of Rosselli.

[5] It is shown in the volume of plans, No. 107 of the Books of S. M. Novella, in the Archivio di Stato.

[6] Fra Alessio entered the Order in 1364 when only fifteen years old. He was very wealthy, and the family took the Dominicans to law for his fortune which they accused the convent of coveting. See Litta, 'Famiglie,' and Archivio di Stato, Repertorio Strozziano di cose ecclesiastiche, p. 406. Litta says his portrait by Santi di Tito is over the door of a cell in the Novitiate.

in a sudden civic munificence, we must pause to remark some matters which have as yet escaped our notice. They relate to the most ancient cloister of all, and show the gradual progress by which this part of the Convent became what we see it now. In the thirteenth century this place had been the only cloister: the seat of the Friars' lodging. But as the Great Cloister was built and the new Dormitories about it raised, this use tended naturally to disappear, and the first residence of the Dominicans at Santa Maria Novella was little by little converted to new purposes.

In the early part of the fourteenth century a vault at the south-east corner of the ancient Cloister had already been appropriated to private uses, and enclosed to form the Strozzi Chapel. This place must have closely adjoined the first Chapel of the Virgin at Santa Maria Novella, the shape and situation of which we have thus some slight means of determining, as it probably occupied the space between the Strozzi Chapel and the Green Cloister, and lay along the west side of the Burial Vault. The Strozzi Chapel was enclosed by Donna Biccia, or Bice, Trinciavelli, wife of Filippo Strozzi who died before 1334.[1] She caused the place to be painted with the frescoes still visible there, and said to be the work of Giottino. They represent the Nativity and Crucifixion, with figures of Prophets, Evangelists, and Saints, and are an important monument of early Florentine art.[2]

To this Chapel, then, Guidalotti's Chapter House of 1350 had to accommodate its proportions, and these two buildings taken together account respectively for the enclosure and disappearance of the arcade on the south side of the ancient Cloister. On its west side there was a similar intrusion and loss caused by the erection of the first Dormitory on the Great Cloister, and vouched for by the partial concealment of the last arch in the north-west corner. Only on the north side was the arcade left standing, and even here the vaults behind were, like that which forms the Strozzi Chapel at the opposite corner, enclosed and converted to new uses. The most eastern of these arched spaces was probably the first to suffer change. In 1349 the Tornaquinci of the Popoleschi branch obtained this place, and made it their private Chapel under a dedication

[1] Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero,' p. 108, and Rosselli's 'Sepoltuario.' See also Litta. The tomb in this chapel bears the following inscription :—'S. Benedicti Petri, et Benedicti Carocii de Strozziis et discendentium.'

[2] For the details of these paintings, see Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

to St. Philip and St. James.[1] In later times it was used by the Confraternity of the Annunziata (1657), and afterwards served as the Mortuary, but even at the close of the eighteenth century fragments of the original altarpiece might still be seen here. This was apparently a polyptych of panels, and represented the Titular Saints of the Chapel, together with St. Jerome and St. Dominic. The only relics of the past now in this place are the arms of the Tornaquinci, carved in stone on the pilasters at the entrance, and a marble tomb in the floor with the same bearings, and an almost illegible inscription.[2]

The next vault had already, in 1363, passed into possession of the Amieri, whose shields are built into the enclosing wall, one on each side of the door.[3] The place was dedicated to St. Thomas Aquinas, whose figure looks out from a half length fresco in a shallow pointed arch over the entrance. Milanesi ascribes this work to Stefano Fiorentino,[4] and in its dry but rather striking style of art it shows no little correspondence with the Tree of the Dominican Order, painted near by on the wall of the first Church looking out on the Green Cloister. As this Tree encloses a figure of our Lord on the Cross, may it not be that these two frescoes are the very St. Thomas and Crucifix seen by Vasari, and by him ascribed to Stefano Fiorentino? This view, while not free from difficulty, seems on the whole more probable than that which would find the work of Stefano in the Crucifix with the figures of St. Dominic and St. Thomas painted over the door to the Great Cloister.[5]

In 1390 the Confraternity of St. Peter Martyr were granted a place 'under the vaults of the Cemetery, where the Frati used to be buried.' They paid forty-two lire and twelve soldi to have it fitted with benches, and gave money to Michele di Giovanni, the painter, 'for the black letters over the door of the Compagnia.[6] This place may have been the Amieri Chapel, and in that case the 'black letters' might possibly be those written on the book held by St. Thomas, which bears the legend: 'Verbum caro panem verum verbo carnem efficit.' It is at any rate

[1] Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero,' p. 101.

[2] Which Fineschi gives as follows :—'Hic jacēt Philippus et Nerius q. de Tornaquincis et Fil. q. Domini Marabottini et Chini et Pieri q. Bernardi de Tornaquincis.'

[3] Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero,' p. 102. The shields bear the following inscription:—'Ani Dni. m.ccclxiii., a di 5 di luglio, Canobi di Messer Jacopo di Messer Filippo Amieri et suorum.'

[4] Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 449.

[5] See *ante*, pp. 81, 82.

[6] Archivio di Stato, Books of S. M. Novella, No. 294, *sub anno* 1390.

certain that this place passed later to the Confraternity della Carità, which became absorbed in that of the Pura soon after the foundation of the latter devotion. They were succeeded in their occupation of the Chapel of St. Thomas by another Confraternity bearing the name of Aquinas himself, which assembled here till its dissolution in 1530.[1]

The third and last vault has been treated in a different way, and forms a Chapel much smaller than the others. It opens by a door in the recess which retreats northward from the arcade: the direct arch on the Cloister having been walled up. Over the door is a shield bearing three sejant lions: it is not known of what family this was the coat. During the fifteenth century this Chapel was used by the Company of Carpenters, and was dedicated to their Patron, St. Joseph. It was frescoed internally, and perhaps these paintings may still remain under the whitewash. In the seventeenth century Rosselli tells us that the Chapels of St. Joseph and St. Thomas were used as the bath and shaving room of the Convent.[2]

These changes in the older buildings of the Convent were due to the development of the new system of dormitories around the Great Cloister during the fourteenth century, and to the Great Cloister and its immediate neighbourhood we now return that we may note the further progress made in this quarter during the early part of the following age. We may begin with an important piece of decoration carried out in the Chapel of St. Nicholas during the first years of the fifteenth century. It will be remembered that this place had been built nearly a hundred years before by Dardano Acciaiuoli[3] on a site adjoining the Infirmary, so that the Chapel gave its gable to the Great Cloister, and in the other direction approached the houses of the Via della Scala. Lione Acciaiuoli, a descendant of the founder, now employed Spinello Aretino upon these walls. The painter commenced work in the year 1403, and completed it two years later.[4] He decorated the Chapel with a series of frescoes representing the life and miracles of the saint to which it was dedicated, and introduced in the background a trellis of vines in full bearing, meant to recall the kindly gift of the Convent to the Founder. These paintings

[1] Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero,' p. 102. [2] *Ibid.*, and Rosselli, 'Sepoltuario.'

[3] See *ante*, pp. 78, 79.

[4] See Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 678, with note, and the sepulchral inscription reported by Rosselli which is as follows :—'Hic jacet corpus nobilis viri Leonis de Acciaiuolis, qui hanc Cappellam pingi fecit . . . obiit anno autem Dni. 1405 die 11 di Maggio.'

might still have drawn the attention of visitors to this place, but for an unfortunate accident which caused their almost total destruction in the sixteenth century. In 1465 Lodovico Acciaiuoli resigned to the Convent his hereditary rights in the Chapel.[1] It was used as a store for straw, and Vasari, writing in 1545, says that 'a few years ago' the place caught fire and the frescoes were in great part destroyed.[2] The Chapel was whitewashed in the eighteenth century : only a small part of Spinello's work was allowed to remain visible where the fire had done less damage.[3] Now the place is divided in two by a partition, and serves as the sale-room and bottling store of the Pharmacy, and here the frescoes have entirely disappeared. On the right of the entrance, however, is a small vaulted chamber of fine proportions, which may have been the Sacristy. Its walls are still covered with paintings in a good state of preservation, and on the ribs of the vault may be noticed a curious ornament of counter-changed points and balls which is common to this place with the greater Sacristy : that of the Church of Santa Maria Novella itself. The wall paintings represent the scenes of Our Lord's Passion : they are no doubt part of Spinello's work, and a very important example of the painter's talent fortunately left us in a place where so much has perished. The only other relics of the past, as it concerns the Chapel of St. Nicholas, are a contract for the fitting up of the Sacristy in 1407 with seats and presses of inlaid walnut wood,[4] and a Tabernacle on the external wall of the Chapel at its south west corner.[5] The visitor persevering enough to make his way to it through what are now the buildings of the Municipal Schools in the Via della Scala will find that it contains a Madonna of the

[1] Archivio di Stato, Books of S. M. Novella, No. 91, *sub anno* 1465, 'di poter disporre e farne qualche le piace della Cappella di San Niccolò posta nel Chiostro Grande, vedasi lo spoglio del P. Radda.'

[2] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 678.

[3] Huius sacrae Ædis interiores parietes, Divi Nicholai Patroni miraculis jam depictos, ruinam minitantes, postea dealbandos et in meliorem formam redigendos, Marius Acciaiuoli, Zenobii filius, Patric. Florent., Dardani fundatoris sucessor et haeres, Patronus indulsit, anno MDCCIIXX' : lapidary inscription in the Chapel copied by the antiquary Baldovinetti, and inserted in the MS. 'Sepoltuario' of Rosselli, preserved in the Bibl. Riccard. Flor.

[4] See Milanesi, 'Nuovi Documenti,' 1893, pp. 70, 72. The agreement for this work was between the Arte della Calimala and Manno di Benincasa legnaiuolo, and the price six florins and a half for every braccia of the cassapanche and seven florins for the armarii : the whole to be finished in October, 1408.

[5] Padre Richa in his 'Memorie,' Vol. III., p. 118, speaks of a miraculous Madonna in a tabernacle of the Acciaiuoli on the Via della Scala. If his account is correct, however, this can hardly have been the picture in question, as the one was a portable tavola and the other a fresco.

Giottesque school, and will notice besides a carved stone with a rampant lion guardant to left: the Acciaiuoli arms.

A small but elegant cloister, lying immediately under the gable of the Refectory and communicating with the Infirmary by a vault at the south-east corner of the Chiostro Grande, was built in the early part of the fifteenth century at the expense of Lionardo di Stagio Dati, a Friar of the Convent and Grand Master of the Dominican Order.[1] It is the last of the three courts which lie within the Convent Gate on the New Piazza, and deserves notice alike by the style of its architecture and the traces of painting and sculpture which it still shows.

Almost at the same time, a magnificent enterprise completed the Great Cloister itself by raising its western side to form a commodious and splendid lodging for distinguished guests of the city. It will be remembered that in 1319 the first Hospitium had been built at the Convent Gate, and that the Commune then contributed two hundred lire to a work which promised to be a public convenience.[2] Just a century later Florence expected the honour of a visit from Pope Martin V., and the old Hospitium was thought unequal to the entertainment of such a guest. On the 31st January, 1419, the city voted fifteen hundred florins of gold for the building of a new lodging at Santa Maria Novella.[3] The work was carried out under the orders of a strong committee of citizens, and with the special superintendence of two Operai from the Board of Works on S. Maria del Fiore.[4] Giuliano Pesello, the Painter, and Lorenzo di Bartoluccio Ghiberti, competed in the design for the stairs: perhaps one of them was the architect of the whole.[5] With him worked Donatello, the sculptor, and other artists.[6] The Pope's bedroom

[1] A Bull of Martin V., dated 1424, appointed him Inquisitor against the Fraticelli. He died the same year.

[2] See *ante*, p. 78.

[3] Gaye, 'Carteggio Inedito,' Vol. I., *sub anno*. As the Pope arrived on the 26 of February, 1419, it is plain the grant must have been given for work almost or altogether completed, and which should be referred to the previous year: so Ammirato, Lib. 18.

[4] Richa ('Memorie,' Vol. III., Pt. I., p. 32) reports the names as follows:—Neri Vettori, Sandro Altoviti, Bartolomeo Stradi, Piero Strozzi, Andrea del Palagio, Zanobi Arnolfi, Giovanni de' Medici, Ant. Maria Mannucci, and Paolo Ciuti. The Operai were Giovanni Bischeri and Jacopo Vecchietti (see MS. Strozz. XX., p. 62, reported in the Repertorio Strozz. di Memorie Laiche in the Archivio di Stato).

[5] MS. Strozz. XX., p. 49.

[6] *Ibid.*, 'Donato di Niccolo di Betto Bardi . . . fa un lione di macigno da metersi sopra la colonna delle scale.' This was not, however, the fine stair *a chiocciola* still visible in the great hall.

was decorated in green, and the adjoining apartment in a floral pattern. On the wall over the Cloister were set in large and lasting stone the four shields which still mark the place : the keys for the Church, the cross for the People, the lily for the City, and the eagle for the Parte Guelfa. So great was the popular satisfaction in the building that a copy of verses which expressed it was painted in gold over the principal door.[1]

The 'Sale del Papa,' as they were called, formed the upper storey on the west side of the Great Cloister. They adjoined the Via della Scala on the south, from which, like the Pharmacy, they had a separate entrance of their own, while on the north they communicated with the upper Dormitory of Fra Angelo Acciaiuoli in which a Chapel was contrived for the Pope's private service.[2] The visit of Pope Martin V. in 1419–20 was followed by that of Eugenius IV. in 1434, on the occasion of the memorable Council held in Florence for the union of the East and West. On this occasion changes were made in the Sale, where room was wanted for the numerous ecclesiastics and their suites.[3] To protect the door in the Via della Scala a roof was raised on columns, so that the Cardinals might dismount in rainy weather without getting wet.[4] Still further improvements followed in 1515, when Leo X. came to lodge here, and of these a part remains in the decorations carried out by Pontormo in the Dormitory Chapel.[5] Distinguished guests of lesser rank who occupied the Sale from time to time were such as Lionardo Dati, the Grand Master of the Dominicans, to whom this place was given as a lodging in 1421 on the departure of the Pope ;[6] Cardinal Orsini and the Venetian Ambassador, who came here in 1426, and Don Pedro of Portugal two years later.[7] Here Martin V. received the submission of the Anti-Pope, John XXIII., the same who died in Florence, and now lies

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 69. The author was Ser Jacopo da Pistoia of the Confraternity of Or San Michele.

[2] Hence called the Dormitory *della Cappella.* See *ante*, p. 84.

[3] The great hall measured 138 × 23 braccia. See 'L'Osservatore Fiorentino,' 1821, Vol. III., p. 135.

[4] MS. Strozz. XX., p. 75.

[5] The Sale were redecorated at this time by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. See Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI., pp. 255, 256, who reports Pontormo's work as consisting of 'Un Dio Padre con molti putti, ed una Veronica,' and says they won praise in spite of the haste with which they were executed. More remarkable is the excellent decorative painting in which they are set.

[6] MS. Strozz. XX., p. 62.

[7] See Richa, 'Memorie,' Vol. III., Pt. I. The Emperor Frederic III., Ladislaus King of Hungary, Pope Pius II., and the King of Dacia, also found lodging here.

buried in San Giovanni. Here in a far other cause and contest did Lionardo da Vinci find room to stretch against Michael Angelo, his rival for the High Priesthood of Art, that mighty cartoon on which, in the years that followed 1504, he laboured with so little fruit, passing hither by a door and stair contrived to lead from the cell he occupied in the Convent hard by.[1]

The changes of the sixteenth century, which affected more or less directly every part of Santa Maria Novella, did not pass without leaving their traces on the Sale del Papa. What Cosimo had begun, when he threw down the Choir Screen of the Church and changed Guidalotti's Chapter House from its original use, Ferdinando his successor completed by annexing the great lodging of the Chiostro Grande to the Monastero Nuovo della Concezione, which his father had founded in 1563 on the site immediately adjoining Santa Maria Novella to the west.

Arrived once more at the fateful period of ruin and of change, we may note that the authentic and ancient glories of this place are hardly to be gathered from anything which has up to this time occupied our attention. Few would to-day find it worth while to visit the Great Cloister for its size alone, or merely to admire the work of Cigoli, Santi di Tito, and other second-rate painters who laboured on the somewhat uninteresting frescoes of these arcades. To breathe the true spirit of the place and reach its real claim to abiding interest, we must recur to the visit of Pope Eugenius IV. and the assembly of the Ecumenical Council. For this, in its purpose of healing an ancient schism, came that Paleologus and that Patriarch of the East whose portraits Gozzoli has left us on the walls of the Riccardi Chapel.[2] The Patriarch died in Florence, and found burial in the east transept of Santa Maria Novella, and the deed of Union brought forth by the Council was soon as dead as he.[3] But

[1] See Gaye, 'Carteggio Inedito,' Vol. II., p. 88. '1504, Feb. 28. A Benedicto di Luca Buchi, legnaiuolo, lire 29 per fare el ponte con la schala et contucti li . . . necessarii et sue apartenenze, fatto al Lionardo da Vinci nella Sala del Papa per disegnare el cartone. Maestro Antonio di Giovanni muratore, lire 16 s. 10, per opera haver raconchio tucti i tecti di S. M. Novella, cioè della Sala, etc., et per fare uno uscio della camera di Lionardo che va al dicto cartone, etc.' The earliest Guide to Florence, printed in 1510, mentions 'una bellissima Cappella' in the Great Cloister with designs by Lionardo da Vinci.

[2] John Paleologus, Emperor, and Joseph Patriarch of Constantinople. The first sixteen sessions were held at Ferrara, the last nine at Florence, all in the Sale del Papa, except the concluding one which assembled in S. Maria del Fiore.

[3] The original is a well-known show-piece of the Laurentian Library. The number of Prelates and Theologians was estimated at seven hundred.

something of what had passed lived still, and grew till it mastered the mind of Florence, spread through Italy, and deeply influenced European thought in every direction. If Gozzoli and Angelico were quick to notice how strangely these Greeks were dressed, others there were in Florence with whom the echoes of their stranger tongue still lingered. Of wonder was begotten interest, and of interest the desire and purpose to learn, and if the great movement which we call the Renaissance rose out of the studies of the Florentine Academy, these were as surely the fruit of that Council when the unfamiliar accents of Greek eloquence were first heard.[1] The Church of Santa Maria Novella in its Gondi Chapel was the school of Cimabue and the cradle of Florentine art, but no less do we hold the Convent, in this mighty cloister and lodging where so many meetings of Council were held, for the nursery of the new Learning and Literature. So when Uccello, presently painting in the Chiostro Verde his Sacrifice of Abel and of Cain, found Politian at his elbow with a quaint smile and the humane conceit :—

> Sacrum pingue dabo, non macrum sacrificabo!
> Sacrificabo macrum non dabo pingue sacrum!

The lines, still legible in the fresco, seem borne eastward to the Church wall from the Great Cloister, as if Politian were Favonius himself: a gentle and authentic west wind breathing of spring, and bringing a mighty message from that Council room and Lodging of the Popes where, if little was done for the sacred cause of Religion, everything was at least begun in the direction of a revived Literature and Culture.[2]

[1] Lionardo Aretino, Secretary of Florence, knew enough Greek to welcome the foreign guests of the Republic in their own language. The Archbishop of Candia has left an account of proceedings at the Council (MS. Vat.), from which it appears that 'Interpres autem stabat in medio omnium, referendo cuncta in Latino et Greco sermone,' from which it appears that the discussions were bilingual. See the Acts of the Council, published at Rome in 1638 by Orazio Giustiniani. Matteo Palmieri ('De Temporibus,' ad ann. 1439) tells us that the interpreter was one Nicholas from Eubœa.

[2] See 'L'Osservatore Fiorentino,' Vol. III., p. 142, where Marsilio Ficino is quoted to the following effect :—Il Gran Cosimo, 'mentre teneasi in Firenze il Concilio tra' Greci e i Latini a' tempi di Papa Eugenio, udì un Filosofo Greco, detto Gemisto, sopranominato Platone, che quasi un' altro Platone disputava . . . e nell' udirlo tanto s'infervorì e si accese che tosto formò l'idea d'un Accademia.'

CHAPTER IV.

The Cemeteries.

SANTA MARIA NOVELLA was not only from very early times one of the principal places of burial for the citizens of Florence, but its different Cemeteries played such a part in the history of the Church, and even affected its very structure and development, that we cannot close our account of the place without devoting a special chapter to this subject.

The Churchyard of Santa Maria Novella is first mentioned in 1105,[1] and had no doubt been laid out in connection with the first Parish Church, consecrated here in 1094. It probably lay beside the Church, and as the deed of 1105 cites it as a boundary, and makes the next to be the 'Via'—in all likelihood that of the Borgo or Via Valfonda—we may suppose that the churchyard lay on the north side of Santa Maria Novella. It is expressly mentioned in 1221 as passing to the Dominicans along with the Church itself.[2] After they were in possession, it would seem that the ancient burial-ground speedily became too small for the numbers who, dying, desired to lie within these doubly sacred precincts. Thus, at least, we may interpret the fact that in the file of Convent papers have been carefully preserved to this day Papal Bulls of 1227 and 1243 permitting interment within the Church.[3] The most illustrious case of such intramural burial during the thirteenth century was that of the Founder of the Convent himself, Fra Giovanni da Salerno, who, dying in 1243, was laid in a high altar-tomb built in

[1] See document of this date in the Appendix to Part I., p. 41.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[3] Archivio di Stato Cartapecore di S. M. Novella, *sub annis.*

the Church.[1] Here miracles were said to be wrought, and the resting-place of the Beato was soon hung with *ex votos* and lit with many lamps.[2] All this devotion must have given a new impulse to the desire which led many to prepare graves for themselves and their descendants in or about Santa Maria Novella.

There is reason to think that before 1250, and in connection with the building of the second or Transept Church, the Cemetery was seriously encroached upon, and that, on the other hand, it left its own mark on the new place of worship. We have said that the churchyard probably adjoined the ancient church of 1094, and lay on the north side of it. But this is exactly the site occupied by the present Transepts, which in all probability represent the building of 1246. What took place then seems to have been something like this: the Dominicans, wishing to build their new Church close to the old one, fixed on the churchyard as the most available site. It was full of ancient family tombs, but they proposed to avoid this difficulty partly by arching over the place, raising their new Church above these vaults so that the tombs below would still be accessible, and partly by availing themselves of the permission which allowed intramural interments. The Cemetery would thus, in spite of the new building, not be lost, but rather doubled; consisting now of two storeys, one in the pavement of the Church above, and one in the ancient churchyard under the supporting vaults.

This may seem a hazardous conjecture, but note how many are the facts of which it enables us to give a rational explanation. The Bull of 1243 was issued just in time to assure the Dominicans in that liberty to bury within their walls of which they now proposed to make such extensive use. The difference of level—Richa says ten braccia[3]—still observable between the Transept floor and that of the earlier Church, as we see it in the vaults under the Sacristy, is thus very naturally accounted for. And that the Transepts are actually raised to this height on arches enclosing a hollow space once used for burial, is vouched for in a number of ways. Beginning at the east, we find that the Rucellai Chapel of St. Catherine was built on a site described in the early

[1] So Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., p. 20, but the MS. diary of Fra Bernardo Bernardone, from which he quotes, says, 'MCCXLVII.' See Archivio di Stato, Libri di S. M. Novella, No. 444, p. 13.

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.*

[3] 'Memorie delle Chiese,' Vol. III., p. 26.

fourteenth century as 'in the cemetery.'[1] Fineschi says the Chapel contained ancient graves and monuments, and gave rise to law-suits, which found an end when in 1464 the floor was raised on vaults, leaving the ancient burial-place below to form what was called the 'Deposito.'[2] In all this we find a later example of the very device we have supposed to be employed throughout the whole of the Transept Church when it was built in 1246. Nay, Rosselli in his Sepoltuario, when speaking of this Deposito, seems to hint that in his day traces might still be seen of an ancient access from this place to the more extensive vaults under the Transepts themselves.[3]

Passing westward to the Gondi Chapel of St. Luke, we find that Manni mentions a vault below it as accessible in his time.[4] And, coming to the Strozzi Chapel at the end of the west Transept, the matter grows even more plain and convincing. In the open vaults which support it, and to which at this point we descend by a door in the Transept wall, burial has gone on for ages, while above, in the Chapel itself, rests the body of the Beato Alessio Strozzi: a capital instance of that interment on the two levels of which we have already spoken. Further, Fineschi says that in his day—1780—the vault of the Steccuti (St. Anna) under the Strozzi Chapel, had a door and stair, and that here, 'si scende in Chiesa,' where there were many tombs.[5] This, then, was doubtless an access to the arched space under the Transepts corresponding with that from the Deposito at their eastern end. Nay, in the condition of the frescoes on the back wall of the Steccuti vault, when compared with that of Uccello's work in the Green Cloister, we have the visible proof that some radical difference exists between the foundations of the Transept and those of the Nave. Richa says the Nave was built on a *forte terrapieno*,[6] which means that Uccello's frescoes have been painted on what is practically a retaining wall, and have naturally suffered from the damp exuded by the mass of earth which it encloses. This damage

[1] 'Super cimiterio,' Archivio di Stato, Libri di S. M. Novella, No. 105, *sub anno* 1325, will of Donna Ghita Guardi.

[2] Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. II., IV., 324, and 'Memorie del Cimitero.'

[3] There is, he says, a window in the wall of this vault, towards the Church, where, when it is opened, 'vi si scuopre sotto un arco del modello di quei archi e cassoni che sono nel cimitero.' 'Sepoltuario,' MSS. in the Riccardian and National Libraries, Florence.

[4] 'Sigilli,' II., 1.

[5] 'Memorie del Cimitero.'

[6] 'Memorie delle Chiese,' Vol. III., p. 26.

must even be supposed ancient, as it evidently affected at an early time the previous paintings here, which Uccello was called to restore. The fine and dry condition of the work in the Steccuti Chapel, on the other hand, goes to show that behind this wall lies no mass of solid earth, but a hollow space, and the conclusion of our whole enquiry must be that the level of 1246 was gained by building vaults to save the ancient cemetery, and maintained in 1279 by levelling up the new Nave to the same height with earth. This was, of course, a less costly form of construction, and the architects may well have permitted themselves to follow it, since on this site there was no old burial ground to interfere with their plans.

The Church of 1246 did not occupy the whole of the churchyard in which it was built. On the east, as we have seen, a part was left uncovered till the Rucellai Chapel arose on that site. On the west, too, a narrow strip remained, and even extended along the north side of the new building. From these now divided parts of the old burial ground was in time evolved and developed a new system of tombs, which, beginning at the east end of the Church and stretching through the upper Cemetery on the Via degli Avelli to the monuments of the Façade, passed by more scattered interments about the Convent Gate, and along the east side of the Green Cloister to its culmination in the Sepolcreto. This western burial vault, in its later extension eastwards to the Chancel wall, all but completed the circle, so that Convent and Church stood finally bound together by these memorials and quiet resting-places of the dead, and Santa Maria Novella, thus girdled with graves, at last became one of the most important and interesting burial places in Italy.

We may begin with the Sepolcreto or western burial vault, as probably the earliest in order of time to receive that attention which has brought it to its present form. If the Strozzi Chapel at the west end of the Transepts was indeed, as we have already hinted, the raised Chancel of 1246,[1] then the vaults supporting it must have been thrown across the Sepolcreto before the middle of the thirteenth century. But the history of the Chapel plainly points to this conclusion. Litta says it belonged to the Strozzi in 1284,[2] and there can be no doubt it has remained in possession of that family ever since. But Rosselli notes that

[1] V. *supra*, p. 57.

[2] 'Famiglie.'

in his day there was still to be seen on the capitals of the corner columns another coat of arms.[1] The Strozzi, then, did not build this place, but merely obtained, and perhaps altered and decorated it, when the third Church was being erected. For its origin we must go back to the times of the second or Transept Church, and may, therefore, hold the arches which support it for one of the points of departure of that system of vaulting with which the Sepolcreto was gradually covered.

Another arch which crosses the Sepolcreto a little farther to the south may perhaps be referred to the same period of building. This is the vault carrying a room midway between Church and Convent, called the Stanza de' Beati, from the images and pictures of notable Dominicans which once adorned it. For if we find with some assurance the Chancel of 1246 in the Strozzi Chapel, it is not unnatural to suppose that the adjoining Stanza de' Beati may have been originally the Sacristy of that time. It communicates directly with the Church by a door through the Campanile, and this door opens on the Transept floor just where the one-sided stairway rises to the level of the old Chancel in the Strozzi Chapel. Whether or not, therefore, we hold the Stanza de' Beati for the former Sacristy, it is plain that it formed at least part of a passage from the ancient Cloister to the Choir. But such a passage had its meaning and use only in connection with the buildings of Church and Convent as they were in 1246. To this period then we venture to assign the arch supporting the Stanza de' Beati, and give it an equal value with those under the Strozzi Chapel in the suggestion and determination of the whole system of vaults which in time spread themselves along the line of the Sepolcreto. The fact that the space left between the wall of the Strozzi Chapel and that of the Stanza de' Beati evidently limits the singular proportion of a very narrow vault of its own in the Sepolcreto roof seems to show that the true arches of support here are earlier than the rest, and have been planned regardless of them. This may serve to lend the last architectural argument in favour of what we have advanced.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine the time and degrees of that progress by which the Sepolcreto assumed its present appearance of a continuous covered vault; we must be content with fixing

[1] 'Sepoltuario.' This was a dexter hand and arm issuant from the left of the shield, 'Arme o marca che sia,' says Rosselli. The Bracci have such a coat, and it is to be noted that this family had a chapel in the Nave of Santa Maria Novella. Perhaps they were the Patroni of the Chancel of 1246, now the Strozzi Chapel.

approximately the date when its northern end was closed, and further development in this direction ceased. On the north the last arch of the burial vault is now filled by a modern wall built between the two final pilasters, and in part concealing the ancient coats of arms with which their capitals were once adorned. Beyond these there opened a further Chapel, dedicated to St. Benedict by the Tornaquinci family who had built it. Before its destruction this place held two important tombs: one that of Fra Giovanni Tornaquinci, sometime Prior of Santa Maria Novella, who died in 1313, and the other a common burial-place for the family of the Founder, who was Ruggiero, the Father of Fra Giovanni. Biliotti, who wrote the earliest Chronicle of the Convent, supposed that the Chapel of St. Benedict formed part of the buildings of 1246.[1] He was probably mistaken, for Ruggiero lived as late as 1285, when he was one of the Priori of the Arts in Florence, but the facts we have mentioned would at least seem to carry the date of this foundation well back into the thirteenth century, and the Chapel of St. Benedict may have been among the earliest of those family vaults which as time went on came to be such a feature in this part of the Cemetery.

The vaulted spaces under the Strozzi Chapel were soon marked by similar appropriations. At the south of these where they are shut in by the foundations of the Campanile, and entered from above by a stair and door in the Transept wall, the capitals of the columns and the door lintel show ancient coats of arms bearing a cock, and apparently of the same date as the columns themselves. This was the device of the Carboni family, who seem to have occupied these vaults soon after their first construction. A trace of what may probably have been the original decoration of the Chapel is reported by Fineschi, who says that in his own day (1780) some plaster having fallen discovered here certain ancient frescoes which he attributed to the 'maestri Greci.'[2] In this opinion he was joined by Padre Della Valle,[3] and the Abate Lanzi.[4] Milanesi, however, who saw some remains of these paintings in the last stage of their late disappearance, did not think them Byzantine, but rather Italian of a very rude school. They stood on the east wall where is now a fresco of the Crucifixion, and showed a range of five stunted pillars and arches; some

[1] On this Tornaquinci Chapel see Fineschi, 'Memorie del Cimitero' and 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., pp. 129, 364, note.

[2] 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero,' p. 80.

[3] 'Lettere Sanesi,' II., 8.

[4] 'Storia Pittorica,' Vol. I.

human heads and one of a horse; the arms, the upper part of the body, and one leg of a small figure in *grisaille*, and an angel bearing in his raised right hand a weapon or sceptre.[1] These were, no doubt, painted in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and the record of them may serve as an additional proof of the antiquity of this place, and of its early appropriation as a private burial vault.

The same may be said of the next space to the north: well known to-day as the Chapel of St. Anne, where Giotto or one of his school has painted the life of the Virgin; for both Fineschi and Rosselli report that on the middle pilaster here was to be seen a carved stone with a coat of arms in colour, 'un lione con fascia,'[2] and the following legend:—'S. Ceccho Cioni da Quinto, ann. salut. MCCXCI.'[3] This has unfortunately disappeared, but on the pillar dividing the Chapel from that of the Carboni may still be seen a stone fitted to that place, and bearing the Guidalotti arms with this inscription:—'S. Guidalotti Bombaroni.' These stones may be taken to indicate different appropriations here during the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Still moving northward, we find a chapel which immediately adjoins that of St. Anne on the one side, and on the other is separated by one vault only from the northern limit of the Sepolcreto at the Chapel of the Tornaquinci. In this place the original heraldry has been chiselled away from the capitals by later possessors, all but one shield, which has fortunately been spared to tell us that the first to make this their family burial-place were the Alberti.[4] Summing up all these details, we see that the Sepolcreto had gained what must have been pretty much its present extent and appearance as early as the year 1300. Viewed from the southern end, its vista was more nobly closed than now by the open arch and terminal altar of the Tornaquinci Chapel, while on either side its walls bore frescoes, now lost, representing Scriptural subjects.[5] Such

[1] Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 262, 263.

[2] 'Delizie degli Eruditi,' Vol. IX., p. 111, *et seq.*, which, however, gives the date as 1281.

[3] 'Sepoltuario' and 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero.' Fineschi, like the 'Delizie,' gives the date of this stone as 1281, but Rosselli is more likely to be right.

[4] Fineschi, *op. cit.*

[5] Two fragments of these still remain on the west wall: a Virgin and Child, and Christ rising from the tomb. They are clearly earlier than the architecture of the vaults, with which they do not perfectly correspond. This would seem to refer them to the period of the 'Greci:' the middle of the thirteenth century.

was the western burial vault of Santa Maria Novella in this its first stage of development.

Meanwhile, at the opposite end of the Transepts, as they eventually came to be, and about the Church door, which from 1246 opened eastwards on the Piazza Vecchia, the remains of the old churchyard still gave room for fresh interments, and proved the starting point from which the upper or eastern cemetery came to be developed. Rosselli notes here the tomb of a Baglioni, perhaps, he says, the same who was one of the Priori in 1282, and a burial niche and sarcophagus he also reports[1] make it likely that in this place, on the façade of the second Church, which looked in the direction of the Piazza Vecchia, the singular device of the *avello*, so strangely recalling the *arcosolia* of the Catacombs, was first adopted in the funeral architecture of Santa Maria Novella.

It is easy to see how the changes begun in 1279 must have favoured the development of the upper cemetery. The former, or second Church, now became the Transepts of the new edifice. The principal door, which had opened between and among these graves, was closed, thus securing greater privacy here,[2] and with the southward growth of the Nave went the *avelli*, till, in their richest and most developed form, they reached and covered with an arcade of black and white marble the façade completed before 1300 on the new Piazza. Rosselli mentions one, dated 1297,[3] in a situation which seems to show that it must have stood in the wall separating the cemetery from the Via degli Avelli, so that this enclosure was made before the end of the century. The very last of the long series, the avello next the Convent Gate on the north, was contracted for in 1314, in terms which make it plain that not only the next, but the others on the façade, were already built.[4] The upper cemetery, thus enclosed and developed, was finally consecrated in 1323 by Fra Tedice Aliotti, Bishop of Fiesole.

[1] V. *supra*, p. 96, note 3. The inscription on the cassone was 'S[epulchrum] filiorum Borghi.'

[2] This may be inferred from the fact that the door in the east aisle of the Nave was finished about the year 1300. See Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., p. 272.

[3] 'Sepoltuario,' No. 677, 'Anno MCCXCVII.✠Accumbit Dnus. Rainerius hic tumulatus / Octaviano qui Dno. fuit et patri natus / de Lippi generosis de Forensibus ortus / perpetue cui Xtie. salutis sit rogo portus.'

[4] This was the tomb of the Mannelli. The contracting parties were 'Fra Johannes de Ultarno . . . operarius eccl. S. M. Novelle' and Lapo quondam Ricevuti, the mason. One of the boundaries was the next avello on the north, which is said to be that of 'Taddei Tieri Dietisalvi.' The price was 170 lire in piccoli fiorini, in which Niccolò Lapo's son, and Coppo, son of 'quondam Andree magistri lapidum,' agreed. See Milanesi, 'Nuovi Documenti,' 1893, p. 20.

The *avello*, as an artistic form of sepulture, is a subject sufficiently important to deserve further attention. The original and chief burial ground of Florence had up to this time been that surrounding the Church of San Giovanni. In early times this was a green churchyard, set with trees such as that which San Zanobi is said to have revived by the touch of his dead hand. Here the common people had their undistinguished graves, while about the Baptistery walls the nobility kept possession of certain ancient sarcophagi, the relics of Roman times. These they marked as family tombs, fitting them from time to time with new marble covers that bore the heraldry of their houses.[1] As the number of such ancient tombs was limited, we may believe that in time others were contrived and carved after the same classic model.

All this came to an end in 1293, when Arnolfo di Cambio restored San Giovanni, and reduced its ancient walls to something like their present uniformity by covering them with black and white marble.[2] The churchyard was now paved to form a Piazza, and the sarcophagi were removed elsewhere. A popular tradition indeed says that they were carried to Santa Maria Novella, where arches were contrived for them in the walls of the Church, thus giving rise to the *avelli*.[3] In the literal sense this is not true, as appears from the tombs themselves, which contain no ancient sarcophagi, but *cassoni* of the same date and fabric as the arches under which they rest. And Vasari assures us that those of San Giovanni were taken by Arnolfo to the façade of the Canonica beside the Cathedral. At the destruction of this place they were again scattered, and some found their way in later times to the cortile of the Palazzo Riccardi, where they may still be seen.[4]

The tradition of an actual transference of these sarcophagi to Santa Maria Novella thus falls to the ground, but it doubtless contains two elements of truth on which it may be well to insist. The closing of the old burial ground about San Giovanni must have urged the provision of new places of interment for the City, and may well have been responsible for the impulse which led to the formation and extension of the upper cemetery at Santa Maria Novella. Nor can there be much doubt that the remarkable and characteristic form of the *avelli* on the walls of this

[1] See Boccaccio, 'Decamerone,' vi. 9.

[2] See Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 285.

[3] Alluded to in Richa, 'Memorie delle Chiese,' Vol. III., Part I., p. 7, *et seq.*

[4] Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 285, note.

Church was in fact derived from the tombs of San Giovanni. In this sense and at least to this extent they were indeed transferred hither. Standing in their first situation by the Baptistery, these marble chests may well have suggested the type of the *avello*, set as they were close to the wall, and seen perhaps against a background of Lombard arcades. Arnolfo would thus have the credit of the design, and it would first grow to shape on the façade of the Canonica. Thence we may suppose it passed to the builders of the new Santa Maria Novella, who hastened to adopt it as not only beautiful in itself, but because of that ideal and traditional connection with the past which made the *avello* the very type of an aristocratic Florentine tomb.

What a hold these *avelli* took upon the finest perceptions of the time, and what a part they played in the life of mediæval Florence, let her chief authors tell. The lurid imagination of Dante, taxing itself to body forth the heresiarchs in their eternal pain, dreamt ancient chests and covers heated to redness by the fires of hell :—

> "Che tra gli avelli fiamme erano sparte,
> Per le quali eran 'si del tutto accesi
> Che ferro più non chiede verun' arte.
> Tutti gli lor coperchi eran sospesi."—Inferno, c. 9, vv. 118–121.

Boccaccio, who opens the Prologue of his Decameron in Santa Maria Novella, makes the foolish physician, Messer Simone della Villa, pass a night of terror shivering in an avello of this Church, the butt of the witty Calandrino and his companions.[1] Grazzini uses one of them for the strategem of Nepo da Galatrona, who, hiding in the tomb a black pigeon and suddenly letting it fly by raising the lid of the *cassone*, caused the crowd to believe it the familiar of a deceased physician who had been buried there.[2] These tales no doubt represented actual incidents of the time, and they remind us to note that the original form of the tomb in an *avello* was that of a chest with a flat lid. The antiquarian Manni in fact tells us that the sloping cover such as we now see it was a device that came into favour only in his own days.[3] The old shape lent itself to the play of children by day, and by night made these avelli the favourite lurking-places of desperate characters and the scene of rough jests such as the novelists describe. They were also used from time to time in more serious fashion

[1] Decamerone, viii., 9.

[2] Antonio Francesco Grazzini detto il Lasca, in his collection of tales called 'Le Cene.'

[3] 'Veglie Piacevoli,' 1815, Vol. IV., p. 29.

as a kind of public pillory. The diary of the Canonico Biscioni records a case in point when Messer Bartolommeo da Orvieto, Auditor of the Camera Apostolica, sentenced a slanderer to this punishment at Santa Maria Novella.[1] The man was condemned to stand a whole day in an avello exposed to the jeers and insults of the passers-by, and wearing a paper mitre on which was written the quality of his crime. All this came to an end with the adoption of the sloping cover, as it was then no longer possible to find foothold under the arches of the avelli.[2]

Coming to the fourteenth century, we must return to the Sepolcreto, where the changes and developments introduced by that age chiefly took place. The main line of this burial-vault was already very nearly such as we see it to-day: an ancient road running north and south from the Chiostro Verde to the Chapel of the Tornaquinci, covered in like a cloister and connected throughout part of its length with the lower gable wall of the west Transept by a parallel series of vaults. These, which lay next the Church, have already been noticed in their earlier appropriations, as in all probability from their first erection the family burial-places of the Carboni, the Da Quinto, and the Alberti, and we may now trace the changes through which they passed in later times from the fourteenth century onwards.

The Carboni vault was dedicated to St. Anthony, and by the will of Messer Ulivieri Carboni, who was buried here in 1337, a painter of the School of Giotto decorated the place with frescoes representing the crucifixion and the legend of the titular saint. This was done under care of the testator's sons, one of whom was Messer Fuligno Carboni, Bishop of Fiesole, and it is said at the instance of Fra Jacopo Passavanti of this Convent, a trusted counsellor of the Bishop.[3] The avello still visible on the south wall was built for the Bishop's tomb, who, dying in 1349, was buried here, and his recumbent figure painted on the wall in the avello, which bore the following inscription:—'Dominus Fulgineus, Episcopus Foesulanus, qui in Domino requievit anno Domini 1349, die 17 Junii.' From the arms of the Carboni sculptured and painted here the Chapel of St. Anthony was still called 'de' Galli' in 1558, when the Convent granted

[1] Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero.'

[2] Tombs of the old type may, however, still be seen lining the passage which leads to the north Transept of SS. Trinità from the Via Parione.

[3] Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero.' See also his Life of Fra Jacopo Passavanti, Bibl. Naz. Flor. MSS. dei Conventi Sopp. F. 5. 491.

it to the Da Magnale family. Francesco di Giannozzo da Magnale was buried here beside the Bishop's tomb.[1]

The next vault to the north had been that of the Da Quinto family, but in the fourteenth century it passed to the Steccuti, whose arms still decorate the capitals of the columns. It was dedicated to St. Anna, and painted in fresco with the story of the Virgin's birth. These paintings, sometimes attributed to Giotto himself, are at least by one of his school, and form the reason of the great attention Ruskin has drawn to this place. The first Steccuti possessor here was Ser Giovanni di Bartolo, who died in 1360 and was buried in this vault.[2]

The third and last in this line of mortuary chapels had belonged to the Alberti, but passed during the fourteenth century to the Betti family, whose arms have taken the place of those first carved here and now chiselled away except one shield. The vault was dedicated to St. Paul and painted in fresco with the life of that Apostle. Some traces of this decoration are still visible, though much faded by time and destroyed by alterations made on the structure of the Chapel.[3]

These changes indicate a certain pressure upon the space for burials under the Sepolcreto vaults, and this impression is enforced when we connect it with that movement already noticed elsewhere,[4] by which, during the fourteenth century, different parts of the ancient Cloister were appropriated as the private Chapels of the Strozzi, the Popoleschi, the Amieri, and that unknown house which held the vault of St. Joseph. For the old Cloister opens from the Sepolcreto; its chapels when they had been thus appropriated were used as family burial-places just like those in the Sepolcreto itself, and they may, therefore, be regarded as a western overflow from the lower cemetery. Evidently room began to be scarce in the burial grounds of Santa Maria Novella.

With this state of matters then we may connect the new and final extension of the Sepolcreto eastwards, which also took place during the fourteenth century. Only one outlet remained: that which through the vacant arch between the Chapels of the Betti and Tornaquinci opened on the narrow strip of the ancient churchyard stretching along the north wall of the Transept in an eastward direction. This arch of access is the

[1] Fineschi, *opera cit.* The MS. II., IV., 324, of the Bibl. Naz. Flor. says Francesco di Giannozzo Magnioli bought the Chapel in 1552.

[2] Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero,' p. 79, *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See *supra*, pp. 86–88.

last in the east wall of the Sepolcreto, and, like that of the Tornaquinci Chapel close by, it has been closed by a modern wall built since the late destruction of all that lay beyond.

The space available for the addition to the Cemetery thus lay between the Betti Chapel of St. Paul and the wall of the Chancel, and gave room for two new chapels which would stand back to back with those of the Gaddi and Gondi in the Church itself, though, of course, at a much lower level. The first of these arose as the result of a remarkable religious movement during the early fourteenth century. We have already spoken of the flood in 1333 with its disastrous consequences. These were regarded as a judgment from Heaven on the sins of Florence, and a new Devotion appeared in propitiation: that of the Gesù Pellegrino—the Divine Son, who, in human weakness and across a flood of troubles, wins His way back to Heaven that He may thus secure the salvation of the world. The Confraternity first met in the then newly-built Chapel of the Acciaiuoli on the Great Cloister, whence they were known as the 'Disciplinati della Cappella di San Niccolò.' Growing in numbers and consequence they soon began to build a chapel of their own. This, then, was the first in the new extension of the Cemetery eastward: it closely adjoined the Betti vault and corresponded with the Gaddi Chapel in the Church above. The Confraternity had been founded on October 28th, the day of St. Simon and St. Thaddaeus, and to these patrons the new chapel was accordingly dedicated. When its founders moved across the new aisle to another and larger meeting-place, of which we shall presently give some account, they parted with this chapel to the Brunelleschi, who rededicated it in the name of St. Laurence. About 1474, however, we find the Confraternity again in possession here, and Fineschi tells us that the altar-piece of St. Laurence of the Brunelleschi was then removed and replaced by one representing St. Simon and St. Thaddaeus.[1]

The next Chapel in the new extension adjoined the Gesù Pellegrino on the east, and corresponded, therefore, with that of the Gondi in the Church above. The will of Nello di 'Chele Nelli, dated 1347, speaks of it as already built by Giovanni Nelli, a relation of the testator.[2] Nello

[1] See Fineschi, 'Memorie sopra il Cimitero.'

[2] Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella, 16 Nov., 1347. This document has many lacunae, and of the noun expressing this relationship only the final '—us' remains. It probably read either avus, avunculus, or patruus.

himself left the sum of twenty-five lire in *fiorini piccoli* that the painter, 'Jacopo [blank] called Jacopo da Casentino,' should adorn the chapel with the story of St. Martin in fresco; for to this Saint it had been dedicated. In 1446 the place passed to Angelo di Zanobi Gaddi, but Fineschi says that even in his own day some remains of the ancient frescoes were still visible here under the whitewash with which the vault had been covered. From the small amount of Nello's legacy, however, we may suppose that the work of Jacopo da Casentino was limited to a single scene: probably that in which St. Martin gives his cloak to the beggar.

The Chapel of the Nelli immediately adjoined the Chancel of the Church, and this obstacle prevented any further progress of the cemetery eastwards in the direct line on which our survey has been travelling. But to the north, and beyond the aisle of access to the new Chapels, lay the Convent Garden, where the Frati were not unwilling to grant sites for further building.

The first to occupy ground here was the active and enterprising Confraternity of the Gesù Pellegrino. Their former chapel having become too small, they got a site in the garden opposite, and erected a building which had a frontage on the new aisle more than equal to the Chapels of the Betti, Brunelleschi and Nelli on the other side. The door of access stood exactly opposite the former Chapel of the Confraternity on the south of the aisle, and was approached by a small flight of stairs. Within lay a narrow cloister occupying the whole front of the building, and having two altars, one in each corner, against the south wall. This cloister was afterwards painted[1] by Amaddio del Giocondo in terra-verde, with scenes from the life of Christ: no doubt in allusion to the Divine Pilgrimage from which the Confraternity took its name. On the further side of this Cloister, a door in its north-west corner gave access to a vestibule. Here in Fineschi's time were still to be seen two old pictures on tavola—one the San Lorenzo of the Brunelleschi, removed hither in 1474, and the other an ancient altarpiece of the Confraternity.[2] This latter was a triptych, with a predella, the work of the painter called Piero di Culliari or Chiozzo, representing the Virgin and Child, with St. Philip, St. Zanobi, and St. Simon.[3] The date of

[1] In 1505.

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.*

[3] Milanesi, 'Nuovi Documenti,' 1893, p. 42. The woodwork of this altarpiece cost 5 florins, and the gold 16. The cost was chiefly borne by Filippo Niccoli, Ser Ciuto Cecchi and Piero Rinaldi, who were no doubt prominent members of the Confraternity.

contract between the Confraternity and this artist was 1346, and this may indicate the time when they took possession of these rooms in the garden, for which no doubt the altarpiece was painted. Beyond the Vestibule lay the Oratory itself, which had a northern altar, and was lined with walnut-wood sedilia.[1]

These buildings of the Gesù Pellegrino occupied the whole northern side of the new burial aisle, from the Tornaquinci Chapel at the end of the Sepolcreto to the Chancel of the Church. Only one further outlet remained, at the east end of the aisle, which just fell clear of the Chancel. Here, then, in 1363, the cemetery found its final development, when a terminal chapel was built in the garden. This place adjoined the north wall of the Chancel on the one side, and the east wall of the Gesù Pellegrino on the other, and opened from the east end of the new aisle. The founder was Francesco di Tommaso Alfieri-Strinati, and the chapel was dedicated to the Stigmata of St. Francis.[2] Here took end the last of the many changes and developments in the Cemetery of Santa Maria Novella.

It only remains that in few words we should indicate how these old burial grounds have come to assume the altered forms in which we see them to-day. Remarkable here, as everywhere in Santa Maria Novella, was the change effected in 1565. Part of Vasari's plan, as it concerned this place, was 'to make a passage behind the (Transept) Chapels, so that the Friars may be able to reach the Choir (*i.e.*, in its new site in the Chancel) from the Dormitory without being seen.'[3] For this purpose he boldly availed himself of the three chapels in the latest burial-aisle—those of the Betti, the Gesù Pellegrino, and the Gaddi—and so handled them that they are hardly to be recognised to-day for what they once were. The partitions were pierced, and a floor put in at a higher level, to which access was had from the Sepolcreto by a stair in the Betti Chapel. In that of St. Martin a few more steps and a small door in the chancel wall, concealed among the stalls, opened on the Choir. The ancient shields were cut from the capitals, and the chapel vaults white-washed: it is in this state of thorough transformation that we find them now. Nay, in their turn, Vasari's stair and door in the Betti Chapel

[1] Fineschi, *op. cit.*

[2] Fineschi, *op. cit.* See also Archivio di Stato, Florence, Repertorio Strozz., p. 406, where reference is made to the Strozzi MS., H., p. 355.

[3] Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., p. 23.

have disappeared, and only the rough plaster, fresco-less, shows where they once stood. Thus what was once a pair of private burial-chapels, and then a passage for the Frati on their way to Choir, has now become the candle-store of the Church. Only a stone roundel in the inner room, with the figure of Christ in the habit of a Pilgrim, remains to show that this was once the chapel of the Gesù Pellegrino.

Our own century has brought even more sweeping changes than those which the cemetery suffered in the sixteenth. When the last Railway Station was built the Convent Garden disappeared, and when the Piazza in front of it was cleared, the northern buildings of the lower cemetery were swept away for ever: the Chapels of the Tornaquinci and Alfieri-Strinati, and the building of the Gesù Pellegrino. Modern walls close the terminal arches of the Sepolcreto that once opened upon these, and only the ancient stone Ecce Homo of the Tornaquinci, and a small oval carving of the Gesù Pellegrino, hang on the north wall to-day as mute signs of a vanished past in this place which has suffered so sadly from the tooth of time and the hand of the spoiler.

APPENDIX TO PART II.

A. Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. dei Conventi Sopp. E. 5. 777.
B. Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. II., IV., 324.
C. Rosselli, 'Sepoltuario,' MS. Bibl. Riccard. Flor.
D. Archivio di Stato, Repertorio Strozzi di Chiese.
E. Archivio di Stato, Spoglio delle Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.
F. Archivio di Stato, MSS. S. M. Novella, Vol. 105.
G. Archivio di Stato, MSS. S. M. Novella, Vol. 91.
H. Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. dei Conventi Sopp. F. 5. 491.
I. Archivio di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. Novella.
J. Archivio di Stato, MSS. S. M. Novella, Vol. 292.

APPENDIX TO PART II.

Itinerary of the Church of Santa Maria Novella.

Piazza Vecchia.

An open space lying between the Church and the Mugnone, in its old course under the walls of Florence. On the East, it had access to the city by the Ponte Petrino and the Baschiera Gate. On the West, the line of the Borgo S. M. Novella, or Via Valfonda, opened on it from the North and continued by the Via degli Avelli to the Croce al Trebbio. Already in existence from early times, it was enlarged in 1244: the city listening to the plea of Fra Pietro da Verona who desired more room for his congregation, and emitting a decision to that effect on Dec. 12. To make room here a number of properties were bought and the buildings on them pulled down: one of these was the Hospital called the 'Domus Pauperum.' This Piazza was the chief scene of Fra Pietro's preaching, and the place where, on the St. Bartholomew's day of 1245, the Bishop of Florence assembled his adherents and published a sentence and decree against the Patarenes who had already taken up arms. In the month of January, 1280, the Piazza Vecchia was richly adorned and crowded with people, while the Cardinal Latino presided at the conclusion of peace between the discordant parties of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Heavy rain fell, but no one left, so great was the interest and emotion. This place is now called the Piazza dell' Unità [I., 20 Dec. 1244 and 24 Aug. 1245; and Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., pp. 96, 104, 116, &c.].

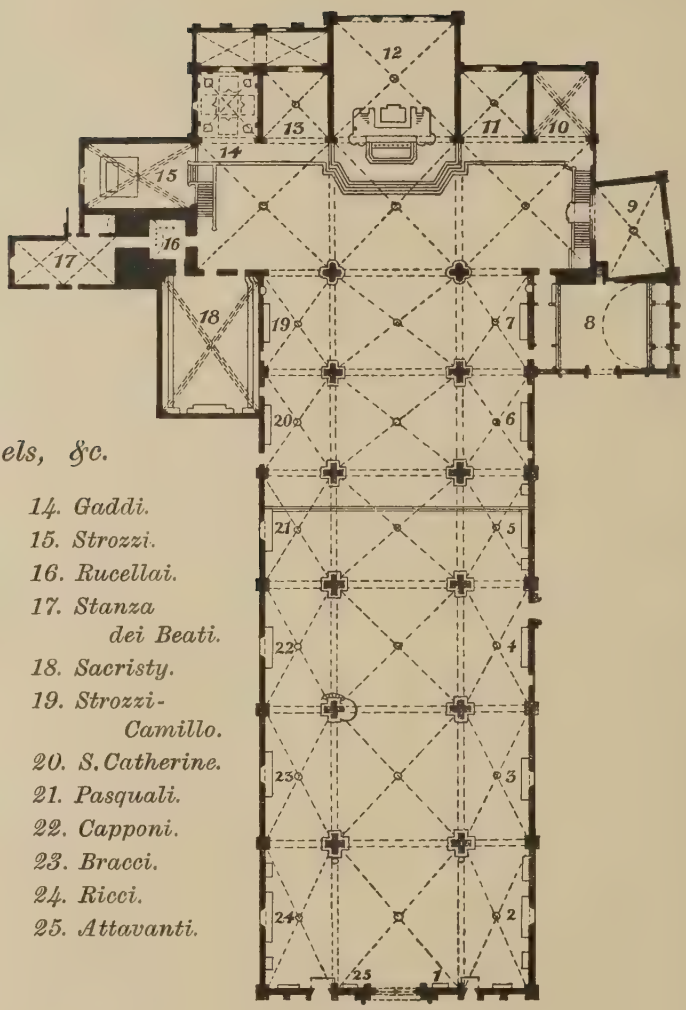
Piazza Nuova.

The Commune bought houses to clear this space as early as 1283–84, and civic decisions in this sense are recorded under the dates of 16 Jan. 1287, Feb. 4, 1300, and August 12, 1310. In the course of these improvements, a number of private properties and houses were acquired at a valuation and removed: one of these had been the Hospital of San Bartolo al Mugnone. On June 7, 1437, the City directed the Operai of the Duomo to make a paved way across the Piazza from the Via della Scala to the Via dei Banchi. This Piazza was the scene of the execution of the gambler who had insulted the picture of the Madonna in the garden of Santa Maria Novella during the fourteenth century. Here, too, on the 27 February, 1415, the Signoria and people received with great pomp their ambassadors Acciaiuoli, Ridolfi, Castellani and Strozzi, who came, dressed in green and crowned with olive, to announce the conclusion of peace with Naples, on which occasion

there was a great banquet in the Convent. In 1419, Pope Martin V. gave his benediction to Florence in this Piazza. In 1515, at the visit paid to the city by Pope Leo X., when the town was decorated to do him honour, Jacopo Sansovino set up a horse here which gained much praise as a fine work of art. In 1540, Cosimo I. ordered that public games, after the manner of the Roman chariot races, should take place in this Piazza yearly, on the eve of St. John. His successor, Ferdinand I., provided the two goals of Serravezza marble, resting on tortoises, and crowned with lilies of bronze, said to be the work of Giovanni Bologna. In these games, four chariots ran at one time and made three circuits of the goals: they were distinguished by their colours and names as Prasina (green); Russata (red); Veneta (blue); and Albata (white). Montaigne saw them in 1580, and has left a description of the scene, which was witnessed by the Grand Duke and his Court from the Loggia at the south of the Piazza. These games continued to be held yearly till the change of government in 1859 [I., *sub annis;* A.; H.; Gaye, 'Carteggio,' Vol. I., p. 416, &c.; Fineschi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 257, &c.; Richa, 'Chiese,' Vol. III., pt. I.; Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. V., p. 25; 'Osservatore Fiorentino,' III., 20; Montaigne, 'Journal du Voyage,' III., 132].

Façade.

This was built in the very beginning of the fourteenth century: the lower part of the wall was paid for by a sum of 200 florins given by Donna Guardina Guardi, wife of Cardinale Tornaquinci, who died c. 1303, and the upper seems to have been done at the expense of the Ricci family. The avelli are of the same period, and date from 1300, or the years immediately following. Their order and ownership is as follows, beginning from the east:—Cerchi; Frescobaldi [east door here]; Tornaquinci [great door]; Gianfigliazzi [west door]; Scolari; Cavalcanti; Da Ripa; Dietisalvi, and finally that of the Mannelli beside the Convent Gate. In the Tornaquinci tomb, a belated interment took place in 1383, when the body of Donna Ghita, wife of Niccolò Tornaquinci, who had died at Pistoia during the great plague of 1348, was finally laid to rest here. The lower half of the façade, from the avelli upwards, was covered with black and white marbles towards the middle of the fourteenth century by the Baldesi. Torino Baldesi, who died in 1348, was probably the benefactor here, and he certainly completed the work by leaving a sum of 300 florins for the great door which was finished in 1351. Tedaldino Ricci, who died about 1365, left an equal sum, which was spent on the round window, and the Ricci arms carved in stone were placed beneath it. The façade remained in this condition—the lower half covered with tombs and marbles and the upper half plain, save for the window—till, a hundred years later, Giovanni Rucellai proposed to complete it. He had a lawsuit with the Baldesi, who objected to any interference with their marbles, and the architect, Leon' Battista Alberti, received instructions to preserve the old work and make his own to suit it. The Ricci coat was removed and placed on the inside of the wall. Alberti completed his marbles in 1470, and thereafter Bernardo Rucellai, Giovanni's son, renewed the great door after a design by Battista Cioni. Bernardo had written an excellent history of Florence, and a popular tradition says that a copy of this book, which has never been printed, was buried under the disc of porphyry which may be noticed in the centre of the threshold just over and behind the stone which bears Bernardo's name. The Rucellai arms are displayed in great shields on the outer pilasters of the façade, and their badge is skilfully adapted as the running ornament of the frieze. It consists of a ship's sail and cordage, in allusion to the trade in



Chapels, &c.

1. *Vecchietti.*
2. *Giuochi.*
3. *Mazzinghi.*
4. *Sommaia.*
5. *Minerbetti.*
6. *Pellegrino.*
7. *Ricasoli.*
8. *Pura.*
9. *Rucellai.*
10. *Bardi.*
11. *Strozzi.*
12. *Choir.*
13. *Gondi.*
14. *Gaddi.*
15. *Strozzi.*
16. *Rucellai.*
17. *Stanza dei Beati.*
18. *Sacristy.*
19. *Strozzi-Camillo.*
20. *S. Catherine.*
21. *Pasquali.*
22. *Capponi.*
23. *Bracci.*
24. *Ricci.*
25. *Attavanti.*

CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA NOVELLA.

orchil—a dyestuff from the Levant—which gave this family its name and wealth. On the façade may be seen two astronomical instruments—a marble quadrant and an equinoctial circle in bronze—the work of a learned man of this Convent, Fra Ignazio Danti, Cosmographer to the Grand Duke, by whose orders they were made and placed here in 1572 and 1574. The lunettes over the doors were painted in fresco by Ulisse Ciocchi in 1616. That in the centre represents the procession of the Corpus Domini and the others have subjects allusive to the same idea. It was the custom that this procession should come from the Duomo to Santa Maria Novella, and on the occasion of a dispute about it in 1457, the matter was thought of such importance that in the following year Pope Pius II. regulated it by a special Bull [F., No. 3; B.; A.; C.; Bibl. Naz. Flor., Spoglio Gargani, No. 339. Fineschi, 'Forestiero Istruito'; 'Osservatore Fiorentino,' III., 10; and H., where it is stated that Donna Guardina's will was proved on 10 Feb. 1303].

Interior of Church.

It measures 168 *braccia* (0·5836 of the metro each) from the great door to the end of the Chancel; 106 from end to end of the Transepts, and 46 across the Nave (Canonico Petrei in Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. XIII., 89. p. 54). The old division was threefold—Atrium or lower Nave; Choir or upper Nave with Transepts; and Sanctuary or Chancel. The Church was paved with concrete by the care of Fra Miniato Lapi who collected money for this work, and died in 1371 [B.].

Lower Nave.

This reaches from the south door to the steps which cross the Church half way up. The Minerbetti family were the chief benefactors with regard to this part of the Church when it was in building, and it is said (Richa, 'Chiese,' Vol. III., P. I., p. 25) that they contributed 300 florins of gold in 1298 when their kinsman Fra Ugolino Minerbetti took the habit. This sum was spent on the east aisle, but as in later times they claimed the column where the pulpit stands as their own, it is plain they had to do with the west aisle as well. Rosselli in his 'Sepoltuario' reports that in the middle nave on the clerestory over the arches of the third bay were painted, one on each side, the kneeling portraits of Andrea di Niccolò Minerbetti (Gonfaloniere in 1387) and Francesca his wife, with their arms. Another authority (Arch. di Stato, MS. 89 of Class V., Stanza III., Arm. 5) says that the arms were painted on the wall above the pulpit column, and the whole confirms Rosselli's final statement that the Minerbetti built this entire bay of the middle nave, with the four columns which support it.

Façade.—The Ricci window is a beautiful piece of glass-work, executed, it is said, by the Frati of Ognissanti (Lami, 'Memorabilia,' p. 1053). It represents in the centre the Coronation of the Virgin, surrounded by a multitude of angels praising God. Below the window is the carved stone with the Ricci arms, removed to this place from the outside of the Façade to make room for Alberti's marbles. Still lower hangs a great painted crucifix which no doubt once stood over the choir-screen of the Church. It is the work of Giotto, and is mentioned as his as early as 1312 [I., Will of Riccuccio di Puccio, 15 June, 1312]. Giotto was probably born in the Parish of S. M. Novella, of which he is repeatedly described in legal deeds as an inhabitant. See I. Del Badia, 'Giotto è Fiorentino,' Firenze, 1901. Beside the principal door are two frescoes. That on the west has already been noticed

(at p. 68) as in all probability the first of a series which once adorned the west aisle. It represents the Annunciation, and, in the predella, the Nativity and Baptism of Christ and His Adoration by the Magi. It is an interesting work, sometimes given, but without reason, to Angelo Gaddi. Below this painting there was once an altar dedicated to St. Vincent Confessor by the Frati of the Convent. It passed later to the Attavanti family in the person of Pandolfo Attavanti, who seems to have acquired it about 1576. Jacopo del Meglio painted the altar-piece, representing the Titular saint, but it was altered to a San Vincenzo Ferrero about the middle of the eighteenth century, no doubt as the result of a new dedication. Later still this picture was replaced by one now in the Rucellai Chapel of St. Catherine, of which we shall speak in its own place. The fresco on the other side of the principal door is a well-known work of Masaccio, brought here from its original place in the west aisle about forty-five years ago. Where it now is once stood an ancient altar built by Guasparre Lami and dedicated to the Three Kings. This, with a family tomb in front, was of marble, and upon it stood a fine picture by Botticelli, which is mentioned in MS. Bibl. Naz. Flor. XIII., 89, page 54, and elaborately described by Vasari. It is probably his Adoration of the Magi now in the Uffizi Gallery. From the Lami this altar passed to the Fedini, in whose possession it remained many years. In the sixteenth century the altar was bought by a Spaniard, Fabio Mondragone, who rebuilt it, removed Botticelli's picture, and caused another to be painted for it by Santi di Tito, representing the Annunciation. The Angel in this picture was said to be a portrait of Vergilio Carnesecchi, a beautiful Florentine youth. The Mondragoni again sold the place to Bernardo di Giovanni Vecchietti, who finished its restoration, and Filippo, Bernardo's successor, transported hither his family tomb which had been in the floor of the Transept. In 1652 he placed a tablet to the memory of Bernardo on the wall beyond the smaller or eastern door, where it is yet to be seen [C.].

East Nave Aisle.

First Bay.—Before the middle of the fourteenth century Giottino, according to Vasari, painted here the story of St. Cosmas and St. Damian. This would indicate an early appropriation and dedication of the place, of which however there is no distinct record. In 1399, the Convent assigned it to the Giuochi family, and an altar was built here to the Virgin and St. Laurence under the wills of Uberto di Cionetto and Jacopo di Gherardo Giuochi, who had died in 1372 and 1396 (Archivio di Stato, MS. Strozz. W., p. 135, and F., No. 33). In 1565 on Vasari's report to the Grand Duke that the Giuochi were extinct, their Chapel was handed over to the Confraternity of St. Laurence, and Giottino's fresco disappeared under whitewash. The Confraternity caused the present altarpiece to be painted by Girolamo Macchietti a pupil of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, who died in 1592. It is said that he was forced to do this work against his will, and in revenge caused the coals of martyrdom to represent the heads of the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella. The basin for holy water which stands on a pillar of red marble beside the outer column of this bay, bears the following inscription:—'Da Mongolieri Bellozzo e Bartolo mi fè venire per tenere acqua da benedire MCCCCXII.'

Second Bay.—Almost as soon as built this place became the Chapel of the Mazzinghi, who may indeed have paid for the erection of this part of the Church. The first possessor was Guido di Giovanni, called Campese or da Campi, Constable of Florence. He placed

an altar and tomb here, dedicating the Chapel to St. Maurice whose martyrdom he caused the artist Bruno to paint upon the wall. This work dated from 1305 and was so large and important—filling the whole wall of the bay—that Vasari says Buffalmacco came to the help of his brother artist and caused him to come off with credit by giving a good design for the fresco. In it appeared the portrait of the donor, Guido Campese, as an armed knight at the head of his troops presented to the Divine Child in His Mother's arms by St. Dominic and St. Agnes, who led him forward to the presence of Christ. Guido died in 1312 and was buried in the tomb he had built which bore his sculptured effigy. It stood in the wall a little to the north of the present altar, and was still partly visible in Fineschi's time. The fresco of St. Maurice, though commended by Vasari, was covered with whitewash in the course of his restoration, and has not since been seen. In later times the Chapel was rededicated to St. Michael and St. James. The present altarpiece is by Naldini and represents the Nativity [B.; Manni, 'Veglie Piacevoli,' 1815, Vol. III., p. 15; Vasari, *op. cit.*, I., 515].

Third Bay.—In early times this bay would seem to have been unappropriated, and with reason, as it contained the great east door built in 1300 (Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' Vol. I., p. 272) as the principal entrance of that time. In the course of Vasari's alterations this door was closed, c. 1570, and Giovanni di Girolamo Sommaia built an altar against it which he dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin. In 1577 he commissioned Naldini to paint the altarpiece, which represents the presentation in the Temple, and further adorned his Chapel with a window of stained glass bearing the Sommaia arms [B.]. At the outer column of this bay, nearest the old door, once stood the original *pila* or holy-water basin of the Church. Rosselli, who saw it here in 1650, reports that it bore the arms of the Bordoni (a wolf?) and the following inscriptions: on the lip:—'Pila ista cum columna supposita fecit fieri Pagnus Bordoni ad fundendam aquam benedictam in eam pro suum rimedium, anno Domini MCCCII.'; and in the *piede*:—'Pagno Gherardi Bordoni fecit fieri hoc opus pro anima sua MCCC.' [A., and C.]. Perhaps the latter was carved on the base of the great nave column, which at anyrate Rosselli says the Bordoni built. These dates show the mistake committed by Padre Marchese who in his 'Memorie,' on the authority of an ambiguous document, says the east aisle was built in 1307 instead of 1298.

Fourth Bay.—This is remarkable, not for any early appropriation, but as having once contained a tomb of exceptional importance—that of the Founder of the Convent, the Beato Giovanni da Salerno. He died in 1247, and was buried probably in the second or Transept Church. When the third Church was commenced in 1279, his tomb was interfered with: very likely it stood in one of the two bays on the north, which were swept away to form the new Chancel:—'Poichè, essendo convenuto nel edificarsi del Altar Maggiore, fino alla gran' parte di Croce (Transepts) che volge alla Sagrestia, demolire l'antica Chiesa, anco il suo corpo fù traslatato' (MS. of 1726, from the Library of S. M. Novella now in Bibl. Naz. Flor. Conv. Sopp. F. 8. 1198). On the completion of the Nave in 1300 the body of the Founder was placed in this bay, and so remained till, in the changes of 1565, it was again removed and its place taken by the Minerbetti altar and tombs now visible here but which formerly stood on the Choir-screen.

Returning to the south end of the Church, we find in

The West Aisle

The First Bay.—This Chapel belonged to the Mazzinghi, called da Peretola, and later

Baccelli [A.], who dedicated their altar to the Baptism of Christ. Rosselli reports a tomb beside it with this inscription:—'S. circumspecti viri Michaelis Benii Spinelli de Mazzinghis, Civis et Mercatoris Florentini, et nepot. suor. discendentium, qui obiit die 12 Sept. A.D. 1430.' In Fineschi's time the chapel had already passed to the Ricci family, who dedicated it to St. Catherine de' Ricci. The altarpiece is a modern picture by Fattori. Next this altar is the tomb of Antonio Strozzi, a famous lawyer, erected by his wife, Antonietta Vespucci, c. 1525. The design is by Andrea da Fiesole and the execution by his pupils, Boscoli, to whom Vasari ascribes the angels, and Silvio Cosini, who carved the Madonna (Vasari, *op. cit.*, IV., 481).

Second Bay.—Rosselli says that this Chapel belonged in 1560 to the Bracci family. It was dedicated to Christ at the well, and the altarpiece of 1575 representing the woman of Samaria is a good picture by Alessandro Allori. Before Vasari altered this Church the family chapels were irregularly placed, and sometimes more than one stood in a single bay. So here, to the north of the Bracci altar, there was another which belonged to the Benintendi, and was dedicated to St. Ignatius. It was removed in the changes of 1565, but has an interest still as we shall presently see, because it helps to determine the original situation of an important fresco.

Third Bay.—Crowe and Cavalcaselle ('Storia della Pittura,' 1897, Vol. II., p. 315, *et seq.*) inform us that during the restoration effected here in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was discovered behind the picture on this altar the fresco of Masaccio now to be seen beside the south door. This situation agrees well enough with Vasari's account (*op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 291), who says:—'In Santa Maria Novella ancora dipinse a fresco, sotto il tramezzo della Chiesa, una Trinità, che è posta sopra l'altar di St. Ignazio.' In this passage 'sotto' must be taken to mean south, and 'sopra' north, and thus we arrive at the situation occupied by the fresco in 1850. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who saw it before its removal and restoration, tell us that in these days there were signs that Masaccio had painted it *a tempera* over an earlier work of the fourteenth century representing the adoration of the shepherds, whose figures, together with that of a radiant angel, were still to be seen on one side of the fresco where Masaccio's work had fallen away. This must have been a subject belonging to the New Testament series which once adorned the whole of this aisle. The first account of the Chapel says that the altar here was built by Fra Lorenzo Cardoni, who dedicated it to the Trinity, and as Masaccio's painting represents that subject, it was probably executed for the Cardoni, and particularly for the two unknown persons whose kneeling portraits appear in the foreground [B.]. On the altar stood a beautiful crucifix in wood, the work of the rare *sculptor*, Masaccio (Vasari, *op. cit.*, II., 291, note). In the alterations of 1565, this was removed and hung over the door in the Sacristy, where it may still be seen. In 1569 died Donna Camilla, daughter of Piero Capponi, and left a legacy which was used here in the reconstruction and decoration of the chapel and altar. Of this money, 1800 lire were paid to Vasari himself for the altarpiece painted in 1570, representing the Madonna del Rosario (Vasari, *op. cit.*, VII., 715, note).

Fourth Bay.—This chapel belonged to the Pasquali, and the appropriation must have been ancient, for Rosselli reports here an old monument half covered by the altar steps, but still showing the following inscription:—'Sep. de Pascalibus, pro nothis, amicis et servis eorum.' In 1570 the owner was Andrea Pasquali, Physician to the Grand Duke, and the altar was dedicated to St. Cosmas and St. Damian. For Andrea, his friend, Vasari, painted the altarpiece which represents the Resurrection of Christ (*op. cit.*, VII., 710).

On a column of this aisle, between the second and third bay, stands the pulpit, which reminds us to note that the open space of the lower Nave in general served for the assembly of the people when mass was said at any of the particular altars we have mentioned or in time of sermon. Padre Marchese's idea that the lower Nave was appropriated to the women, while the men stood beyond the Choir screen, would seem without any reasonable foundation; at least this cannot have been the case after the pulpit was put in its present situation, which happened in the year 1448. Fra Andrea Rucellai got his relation Guglielmo di Cardinale Rucellai to undertake the expense of this work, which was designed by Brunelleschi and executed by Maestro Lazzaro. The Convent books bore the following entry regarding it:—'Filippo ser Brunelleschi per manus Mag. Jeronimi, pro modello ligni pro pulpito fiendo in Ecclesia, flor. unum larg. fuit valoris L. 4. 15' (Borghighiani, 'Storia di S. M. Novella,' II., 418). The pulpit is of white marble, with bas reliefs representing the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, and St. Thomas receiving the Cintola, while in the base appear the Rucellai arms. The whole was complete and ready to be put up when the Minerbetti family objected and took the matter before a Court composed of the Bishop Antonino of Florence and other judges, with the plea that the column belonged to them. They could bring no other proof, however, than the fact that their arms stood painted over it in the clerestory, and the Court decided that the work should go on under condition that the Rucellai consented to remove it in case the Minerbetti were prepared to place there a pulpit of their own having equal or greater value [Arch. di Stato, V., 89. p. 103].

The Tramezzo or Choir.

This was called the Tramezzo because it separated the Atrium, or lower Nave, from the Crociera, or Transepts and Chancel. It consists of six bays, two in the central nave and two in each of the aisles. Enclosing the six nave-columns here, rising above the pair of steps that stretch across the Church, and filling the whole space of the middle nave as far as the Transepts stood, till its removal in 1565, the Choir proper. It rose high and had eight altars; four placed against the enclosing walls below and four upon these walls above. To the latter altars the solid breadth of the Choir-screen, or *ponte* as it was called, gave convenient access. Fra Modesto Biliotti, who wrote the first regular Chronicle of S. M. Novella, c. 1575, and must have known the Choir well before its removal, says of it:—'on this (ponte) private Masses were said on certain days, and on feasts the Deacon and Sub-deacon sang the Gospel and Epistle' (quoted in P. Marchese, 'Memorie,' Vol. I., p. 138). Commanding the lower Nave, where the people assembled, the front of the Choir-screen formed the first pulpit of the Church before that of the Ricasoli was built. The whole arrangement here recalls that of the great Spanish Churches, where the high central Choir, with its richly decorated screen, is such an imposing feature. The Frari at Venice may be cited as a good Italian example of what S. M. Novella must have been.

The Choir Proper.

This filled the two uppermost bays of the middle nave, and was formed by enclosing walls built between the six nave columns. We may suppose that the screen, which was its façade or south front, rose higher than the rest: visible traces indeed seem to show that it or its upper altars must have touched in some way the very capitals of the first pair of columns where patching is pretty evident. In front, in the pavement between the screen and the steps,

stretched a line of tombstones. One of these bore the name of Blaxia, daughter of Ciampoli Salimbeni of Siena and wife of Cantini Cavalcanti, with the date of May 20, 1300, which was that of her death. This must have been one of the earliest interments in the new Church [A.]. Beyond these tombs rose the Screen, built of white marble, and pierced in the centre by the arch of the *Reggi* or Royal Doors, which allowed a distant view of the High Altar in the Chancel beyond. There is some reason to think that from either end of the screen a flying arch may have spanned the aisle, thus connecting the screen with the side walls of the Church on either hand. These arches, like that of the *Reggi*, would be closed by grilles of wrought iron ['tre porte del tramezzo,' 'Il Libro di A. Billi,' Frey, Berlin, 1892, p. 21], and it was this enclosure of the whole space destined for the Frati from that of the lower nave where the people assembled which justified the use of the word Tramezzo to include the choir-aisles as well as the choir proper: a use which is hardly doubtful, though difficult of explanation in any other way.

On either side of the *Reggi*, or central arch in the screen, stood an altar. That on the right or east belonged to the Cavalcanti family, was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and may be connected with the adjacent tomb of Cantini's wife, just mentioned, which probably lay in front of it. It is possible that the sarcophagus of the great Prior Fra Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, now in the east Transept, may have been the original altar-table here. We know for certain that a marble chest was placed at this altar to contain the body of Mainardo Cavalcanti, Seneschal of Naples, who died in 1379. This, together with the ancient altarpiece which bore the arms of the Cavalcanti on the right, and those of the Acciaiuoli on the left, in the predella, was, on the destruction of the Screen in 1565, removed to the Sacristy, originally a Cavalcanti Chapel, and which had been built by Mainardo himself. In 1598, when the Screen had disappeared, the three sons of Marco Benedetti, with consent of the Cavalcanti family, placed against the east pillar here a rich shrine of marbles, the work of Buontalenti, enclosing a picture of Cigoli representing the Martyrdom of Fra Pietro da Verona, a Saint to whom the Benedetti professed a special devotion. [B. C.]

The altar to the left or west of the *Reggi* belonged to the Dietisalvi da Castiglione, and was dedicated to St. Peter Martyr. It was built in 1298—a proof of the early date of the Screen—by Messer Durante da Castiglione and the sons of Tieri Dietisalvi. The architect was Fra Borghese, then Master of Works. The altar was rebuilt and the arms and tomb renewed by Bernardo da Castiglione in 1484. In the passage between the Green and Great Cloisters of the Convent is an old painting of St. Peter Martyr which Fineschi says came from the Choir Screen. Perhaps it stood on this altar. After the removal of the Screen the west pillar here was adorned with a marble shrine corresponding to that of the Benedetti on the opposite column, and like it the work of Buontalenti. Jacopo da Empoli painted the picture for this shrine, and as it represented St. Hyacinth we may suppose the whole to have been done at the expense of the Strozzi-Camillo family, who had an altar dedicated to the same saint in the aisle near by. [D. p. 367; B., C.]

The upper part of the Screen was broad enough to deserve the name of *ponte* or bridge. Through it rose the first pair of columns, and against each of these, probably facing inwards towards the centre of the nave, stood an altar. Of these altars that on the right or east, above the Cavalcanti Chapel, was dedicated to San Lodovico. The founder was probably Paolo di Lotto Ardinghelli for whom Vasari (*op. cit.*, I., 394) says Giotto painted a San Lodovico 'sopra il Tramezzo.' This picture contained portraits of the donor and his wife [B., and 'Il Libro di A. Billi,' Frey, Berlin, 1892, pp. 6, 7]. The other altar on the upper

part of the left or west column, above the Castiglione Chapel, was dedicated to St. Elizabeth of Hungary under the will of Tignoso di Gualterone de' Macci (31 Jan., 1339), who left 500 florins to build it. In 1477 Piero di Zanobi di Francesco de' Macci sold it to Vergilio Adriani. [E.; D., p. 28, 406; B.] Beside these altars room was found on the upper part of the Screen for one of a pair of organs given to the Church, c. 1330, by Fra Simone Saltarelli, Archbishop of Pisa. A hundred years later this instrument was fitted with canvas doors on which Fra Angelico painted an Annunciation (Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 507). In 1565 this rare example of the master was removed to the passage between the cloisters of the Convent. On the Screen also stood, says Biliotti's Chronicle (Marchese, 'Memorie,' Vol. I., p. 138), a marble lectern, supported by a column finely carved with symbols of the Evangelists. At the destruction of the Screen this passed to the Hospitium, and later the column is said to have formed the candelabrum on the west of the High Altar. The great crucifix by Giotto now on the south wall above the Church door, probably when first painted hung over the Choir-screen where it must have made a much finer appearance than it now does. Here too was suspended over his grave the hat of Cardinal Casanova, an Aragonese, who died in 1430. [C.] At their removal in 1565 the marbles of the Screen are said to have been adapted as the steps of the High Altar [I., Add. MS. No. 2], but if so these have in their turn given place, perhaps in the restoration of 1804 to common stone.

Within the *Reggi*, or central arch in the Screen, lay the Choir itself, occupying the two upper bays of the middle nave. It was shut off from the aisles on each side by screen walls stretching from pillar to pillar, and against these walls stood the stalls for the Frati. Pope Martin V. sat in state here on March 25, 1420. In the centre of the choir was buried Fra Leonardo Dati, Prior of Santa Maria Novella, and General of the Dominican Order, who died in 1424. Two years later the famous Ghiberti cast a beautiful bronze bearing the General's effigy, which was placed on his tomb, it is said at the expense of the city, which he had served in various offices and embassies (Vasari II., 233, note). In Ghiberti's will, however, which is dated 1427, he says there was a sum of ten florins still owing him for the General's tomb by the Frati, from which one would infer that the Convent paid, at least in part, for this bronze (see Gaye, 'Carteggio,' I., p. 105). It was removed in 1565 to the pavement in front of the Chancel, and finally, in 1861, to an obscure recess at the back of the High Altar, where it may still be seen. In its original site this bronze, says Baldinucci, marked the eastern limit of the Church of 1094, and stood just over where its principal door had been. Near this lay the tomb of another great Churchman, Cardinal Brancaccio of Naples, whose hat was hung in front of the High Altar. [C.]

East Choir Aisle.

This, like the Choir itself, consists of two bays. On the east it is bounded by the wall of the Church, and on the west by the three Nave columns, between which stretched, till 1565, the side wall of the Choir.

First Bay.—On the west of this space, against the Choir wall, between the first and second pillar, stood the altar of the Minerbetti. It was ancient, for Tommaso di Ser Ruggierino Minerbetti, dying in 1308, mentioned it in his will, desiring to be buried here, and leaving money to keep a lamp continually burning before the altar. The Minerbetti

are said to have been refugee descendants of the family of St. Thomas A'Beckett, and to him, accordingly, their altar here was dedicated. They had settled first in Lucca, from whence a branch came to Florence during the thirteenth century, where they rose to wealth and civic distinction. Their arms, which were carved on the altar, consisted of three swords meeting in base, as if in allusion to the knights who murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury. The altarpiece was a tavola by Gaddo Gaddi (Vasari, I., 348). The burial-place of the Gaddi themselves lay near by, and is still marked by an inscription in the pavement, and we may, therefore, venture to suppose that the Choir wall here was the place where Taddeo executed the fresco of which Vasari speaks in the following terms:—'In the same (Church of) S. Maria Novella, on the Choir-screen (sopra il Tramezzo della Chiesa), he (Taddeo) also painted St. Jerome in the dress of a Cardinal, for he had a devotion to that saint, and chose him as the protector of his family. Beneath this, in later years, Agnolo his son, after Taddeo was dead, caused to be made for his descendants a tomb with a marble cover and the Gaddi arms' (*op. cit.*, I., 583). Early in the sixteenth century the Minerbetti altar was renewed, and adorned with a sarcophagus and frieze of angels' heads, the work of Silvio da Fiesole (*op. cit.*, IV., 482). After the destruction of the Choir these sculptures were in 1572 placed against the wall in the adjoining bay of the lower Nave, where they may still be seen. Beside the Minerbetti altar, too, stood a beautiful statue of the Virgin and Child, begun by Andrea and finished by Nino Pisano (*op. cit.*, I., 494). After the destruction of the Screen this was placed, with some ancient paintings, under the organ gallery in the west choir aisle, till in 1861 it was transferred to its present situation above the Cavalcanti tomb in the east Transept [B., C.; see also Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' I., 281].

On the east side of this bay is an altar dedicated to the Resurrection of Lazarus. It belonged to the united Confraternities of the Gesù Pellegrino and the Tempio, and as the tomb of the Beata Villana stood close by, in this very bay, we have some reason for supposing that Fra Angelico's panel of the Entombment of Christ now in the Galleria Antica e Moderna of Florence at No. 246, was painted for this altar. We know that it was commissioned by the Confraternity of the Tempio. The subject would seem allusive alike to the Gesù Pellegrino and to the Tempio—a confraternity formed to render the last offices to the condemned—and finally Milanesi (Vasari, II., 514, note 3) tells us that the picture in question contains the figures of St. Dominic and the Beata Villana. Villana was the daughter of Andrea di Messer Lapo Botti. She married a Benintendi, and, after some years of worldly life, was converted again to her early piety by a vision which showed her in a mirror the Devil dressed in her clothes. She then gave herself up to good works and austerities till she died at the age of twenty-eight, and was buried in a tomb placed against the east wall of this bay, just to the north of the Confraternities' Altar. On 27 Nov., 1441, Donna Villana, daughter of Francesco di Piero Stefani, and widow of Stoldo di Lorenzo, left by will a house and loggia in the Via Valfonda, to be sold to build a chapel at the tomb of her name-saint here, and by a codicil, dated 2 May, 1444, another house in the Via Velluti to the Confraternity of the Tempio, to provide money for the celebration of her feast-day. Richa ('Chiese,' III., 51) refers to a contract of 1451 between Fra Bastiano, the Master of Works, and Bernardo di Matteo Gamberelli, the sculptor, for the Beato Villana's tomb. It is a fine piece of sculpture, and may be studied in the Rucellai Chapel of the east Transept, where it was placed after the changes of 1565. The altar of the Confraternities now bears a picture by Santi di Tito, representing the Resurrection of

Lazarus, and this artist also designed the round window of stained glass in the clerestory of this bay. [B.]

Second Bay.—On the right or east side here, just beyond the door leading into the Chapel of the Pura, is an altar, first built in the fourteenth century by Fra Domenico Pantaleoni, Professor of Theology in the Convent, who, further, paved this bay with black and white marble, and made five tombs in the floor for those of the Frati who did not belong to families that had private vaults in Santa Maria Novella. Hence this altar, dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin and to St. Laurence, was generally called 'dei Frati del volgo.' Fra Domenico died in 1376 and was buried here. In later times the altar passed to the Ricasoli, who already possessed the external *avello* which stood back to back with it. The Ricasoli dedicated their altar to St. Raymond, and adorned it with a picture by Ligozzi representing the Saint raising a dead child to life. The Prior of the time was Fra Raffaello delle Colombe, who is said to have troubled the artist by his meddlesomeness while this picture was in progress, and Ligozzi contrived to introduce what was recognised as the unfortunate Dominican in the form of a pigeon whose name, colours, and attitude sufficiently declared the painter's skill in satiric caricature. The bird may still be dimly seen perched on a wall in the upper left hand corner of the picture. To the north of this altar in a recess is the tomb of the 'Vescovo dell' Ampollina,' the Bishop of the Poison-cup—a distinguished member of the Ricasoli family who died in 1572. This was Giovanni Battista, a close ally of the Medici, and involved in many of their intrigues. As Bishop of Cortona he attended to represent the Pope at the marriage of Philip and Mary of England. He gained his popular name as the bearer, in 1557, of a phial of poison by which the Grand Duke Cosimo hoped to destroy his enemy, Piero Strozzi, then at the Court of France. The attempt was foiled by the address of Catherine dei Medici, and Ricasoli returning devoted himself to religion and died Bishop of Pistoia. His tomb, erected by his nephews, is the work of Romolo di Taddeo da Fiesole. High up on this wall, above the Ricasoli tomb, may be noticed two stones carved with coats of arms. One of these deserves particular attention as it bears the name of the Adimari. Fra Pagano Adimari was Prior in 1279, when the foundation stone of the nave was laid, and this may be a memorial of the fact, corresponding to Cardinal Latino's stone in the adjoining Pura Chapel. Building would indeed naturally begin here. The other stone bears an eagle, the arms of the Guild of the Calimala, but the inscription is illegible.

On the left or west side of this bay the screen wall which once stood here does not seem to have had any altar at the level of the floor, but upon it, above, probably stood one built by the brothers Fra Tommaso and Fra Agostino, sons of Tommaso Gherardini. It was dedicated to St. Eustace, and we may fancy it looked inwards towards the central nave, and was reached by the passage or *ponte* contrived to run along the top of these walls from the front of the Screen itself. [B., see also Horner's 'Walks in Florence,' 1873, II., 212, 213.]

West Choir Aisle.

This also consists of two bays, and the architectural conditions are the same as those of the East Aisle, save that of course the lost screen wall in its two divisions stood on the east or right hand instead of the west.

First Bay.—On the right or east, against the screen wall at the side of the Choir, stood an altar already built in the early part of the fourteenth century and dedicated to St. Thomas Aquinas. It seems to have belonged to the Guasconi family. Soon after the middle of the

century it passed to the Alfani in the following manner. Alberto di Vermiglio Alfani, a rich Florentine merchant, made a will in 1354, directing that 500 florins of money owed him by the King of Bohemia should be used to build a chapel in S. M. Novella, and added a codicil at Avignon in 1361, desiring to be buried in the Church of the Dominicans, opposite the altar of the Madonna dell' Umiltà. He died in 1361, and in 1365 Fra Zanobi Guasconi, then Prior of S. M. Novella, handed over the altar of St. Thomas Aquinas to Vermiglio Alfani, who was probably the testator's son and heir. The dedication was now changed to St. Mark. It would seem that Vermiglio left no son, but his daughter Margherita succeeded him and carried the altar into the family of her husband, who was Ugo Altoviti. She built a tomb on the west side of this bay, opposite her father's altar, where she buried her son Salvatore, and it is evident that the altar of St. Mark must have passed to the Altoviti, for when Fra Jacopo Altoviti, Bishop of Fiesole, was buried beside Salvatore in 1430, the site of his grave is described as 'opposite his own altar.' Fra Jacopo had changed the dedication from St. Mark to St. Mary Magdalen. His tomb must have been of some beauty and consequence, for when the Choir was removed and this part of the Church rearranged, it was carried into the Green Cloister and placed in a damaged condition near the stair which thence leads up into the Church. The altar of St. Mary Magdalen afterwards passed to the Confraternity of St. Catherine and was rededicated in name of that Saint. In 1565 it was transferred to its present position under the organ on the opposite or west side of this bay. The place under the organ was, it may be, the site of the altar of the Madonna dell' Umiltà referred to in the will of Alberto Alfani. This is probably the same as the altar of the Coronation of the Virgin spoken of by Vasari (*op. cit.*, II., 507) in the following terms:—'Dipinse (Fra Giovanni Angelico) dopo, nel tramezzo di Santa Maria Novella, in fresco, accanto alla porta (this would be the door which leads from this bay to the Green Cloister), dirimpetto al Coro, San Domenico, Santa Caterina da Siena e San Piero Martire, ed alcune storiette piccole nella Cappella della Incoronazione di Nostra Donna nel detto Tramezzo.' The description is ambiguous, but if it refers to a single picture it would indicate a fresco with a predella like that still visible on the south wall of the Church where the Attavanti altar was. Vasari further speaks (*op. cit.*, II., 520) of a tavola by Zanobi Strozzi, a pupil of Fra Giovanni, which stood in the Tramezzo beside his master's work. The present altar of St. Catherine has a curious altarpiece. The figure of the saint in the centre was designed by Michelangelo Bandinelli, nephew of the better-known Baccio, and executed by the Dominican artist Atticciati, while the painted panels which surround it are the work of Poccetti. The organ in the wall above was built by Fra Bernardo da Argentina, and Baccio di Agnolo made a beautiful gallery in front of it, which was sold, and is now in the South Kensington Museum, London. [F.; D., p. 406; B.; G.]

Second Bay.—On the right or east side, above the screen wall of the Choir, seems to have stood an altar dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, which corresponded with that of St. Eustace on the opposite side of the Choir, and like it, was reached by a walk contrived on the wall above the choir seats. We have no account of any early appropriation of the left or west wall in this bay, but in the sixteenth century it belonged to the Camillo branch of the Strozzi family who built an altar against this wall, c. 1570, which they dedicated to St. Hyacinth, a Polish Dominican. Alessandro Allori painted the altarpiece in 1592, and the predella is by his pupils. In 1571 the body of the Beato Giovanni da Salerno was transferred from the east nave aisle to a place made for it in the west wall of this bay, where it remained till in 1861 it was placed under the High Altar. The Beato's tomb here was the

work of Vincenzio Danti. It is now in the Rucellai Chapel of the East Transept. The body of the Beata Villana rests at present under the altar of St. Hyacinth. [B., C.]

The Transepts.

This part of S. Maria Novella was in all probability the complete Church of 1250. The Chancel of that time remains but little changed in the present Strozzi Chapel, which is not only elevated as the sanctuaries of that early time often were, but fairly divides the space between the back or north wall of the aisle chapels and the façade of the Sacristy, which, of course, marks the site of the back wall of the lost south aisle. According to the usual threefold division, the present West Transept would be the Choir of 1250, and there is reason to think that this arrangement persisted with but little change till long after S. Maria Novella had assumed its present form. The south aisle has disappeared, but its extreme limit is sufficiently indicated still by the line of the existing south walls of the East and West Transepts. And when these are examined, it will be noticed that half-way along each occurs a notable change of thickness, which is allowed to run up even into the south clerestory windows. This suggests that in part at least we have still to do here with the wall of 1246, to which the later work of 1279 has been rather clumsily adapted. In the course of our itinerary we shall find further occasion to note the still existing traces of what must have been the original arrangements here.

East Transept.

At the south-west corner, as we turn from the Ricasoli tomb in the East Choir Aisle, we find a bracket on the wall bearing a coloured bust of the Beato Antonino, Archbishop of Florence, who belonged to the Dominican Order and had been Savonarola's predecessor in the Convent of San Marco. The pilaster with a carved capital, which appears in this wall, serves no present purpose, is out of relation to the height of those in the Nave, and may be a relic of the earlier times of the Transept Church. Above stands the very beautiful marble tomb of Tedice Aliotti, Bishop of Fiesole, who died Oct. 7, 1336. He belonged to the house of the Tosinghi or Visdomini, and their arms appear carved upon the tomb, which is the work of Tino di Camaino di Crescentino, a Sienese sculptor (flor. 1312–39, see Vasari, I., 432, note). Fra Tedice had been Vicar of Fra Corrado della Penna, Bishop of Fiesole, whose tomb we shall presently notice, and on Corrado's death in 1312 succeeded him in the See. Next this tomb to the east, but at a much lower level, is the sarcophagus of Fra Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, the great Prior, who died August 31, 1279. This may be its original situation, but if not, then it probably stood at the altar of the family on the Choir Screen. It may have been removed thence to this place after a hundred years, to make room for the burial of Mainardo Cavalcanti, who died in 1379. Above it stands the beautiful Madonna of Andrea and Nino Pisano. Lower down to the left is the monument of Joseph, Patriarch of Constantinople, containing his effigy in fresco within a marble border. He came with the Greek Emperor to attend the Council of 1439, and, dying in Florence, was buried in this Church.

The end wall of the Transept was the façade of 1246, through which the principal door opened on the eastern end of the original churchyard. Fineschi (see H.) reports that Donna

Guardina, daughter of Neri di Piero Guardi, and widow of Cardinale Tornaquinci, signed an instrument along with her brother Nero Guardi (rogato 10 Feb., 1303) in which she devoted 200 florins to the building of a chapel 'sub vocabulo Beate Catherine Virginis et Mart. . . . juxta Corum et super cimiterio eorum Ecclesie S. M. Novelle, secus viam euntem juxta Plateam Veterem' [F.]. Thus the cemetery outside the east Transept was still open ground, but a deed of 1325 [*ibid.*] says that the money devoted in 1303 had been otherwise spent, since:—'in dicto loco Cappella per alium sit constructa, ita quod inibi non potest alia Cappella construi.' The building of St. Catherine's, the terminal Chapel of this Transept, thus falls between 1303 and 1325, and it gave rise to the change by which this wall was pierced to form an open arch of access to the new chapel where the old door of the Church had been. A good authority [B.] tells us that the Chapel was granted in 1335–36 to Bencivenni or Cenni di Nardo Rucellai, and another (Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. II., IV., 374, at p. 127) says that Cenni 'innanzi che si facesse Cavaliere, fece murare la Cappella di S. Caterina . . . circa gli anni 1355–56.' Lawsuits arose about the matter [B.], no doubt in consequence of the site containing ancient tombs of other families. In consequence of this trouble the Rucellai abandoned their possession in the Chapel till, in 1464, Fra Andrea Rucellai, whom we have already met in the matter of the pulpit, got the rights of his family re-established here. The chapel was then restored and a vault built in its lower part which had the double effect of raising the floor in correspondence with the height of the Strozzi Chapel in the West Transept, and of avoiding old difficulties by dividing St. Catherine's Chapel from the remains of the burial ground below. This vault was called the Deposito, and used as a mortuary. It ultimately passed into possession of the Confraternity della Pura. According to Vasari (*op. cit.*, VI., 204–7) Palla Rucellai [but B. says Bernardo] caused Giuliano Bugiardini to paint St. Catherine's martyrdom for this altar, and he gives an amusing account of the artist's difficulties and the help given him by Michael Angelo. Orazio di Luigi Rucellai presented the fine stained window of the Transept gable above the arch of the Chapel [B.]. This place has long served as a kind of Museum for the Church under its various rearrangements, and several of the monuments and pictures now here have already been noticed in our review of the places from which they came. On the south wall stand the tombs of Fra Giovanni da Salerno and the Beata Villana. Here too is the picture which once stood on the Attavanti altar, and then hung for many years in the north-east corner of the Green Cloister. It is a panel painting with figures of St. Dominic, St. Catherine of Siena, and, in the centre, the Archangel Raphael. We should suppose it therefore to have been originally painted for that Confraternity of St. Raphael which once possessed a building at the Convent gate [C.], and near enough the Attavanti altar to make the transference of the picture thither a natural consequence of the suppression of the Confraternity. Fineschi [A.] ascribes this painting to Spinello Aretino, but it is evidently later than his time, and rather recalls the style of the Lippi. Reserving what is to be said of the great picture of the Madonna here till we come to notice it in connection with the adjoining Chapel of the Bardi, we may complete our study of St. Catherine's Chapel by saying that the panel of St. Lucia on the north wall deserves notice as having been painted by Davide Ghirlandaio in 1494. It cost fifty florins, which were left for this purpose by Fra Tommaso Cortesi [G.]. Vasari (*op. cit.*, VI., 532) says the saint's head was a portrait of a Frate of S. M. Novella, and that in his time the picture stood 'near the middle of the Church.'

The end wall of the East Transept to the north of the stair leading to the Rucellai Chapel contains the Presepio, and above it may be seen a marble slab carved with the

recumbent effigy of a Bishop. This is all that remains of the tomb of Fra Corrado della Penna dei Gualfreducci of Pistoia. He received the habit from Fra Giovanni da Salerno, became Bishop of Fiesole, and died in 1312. His tomb was originally a solid chest like that of Fra Aldobrandino Cavalcanti, and bore the following inscription:—'Conradus Frater / quem continet hic locus ater / moribus urbanus / Presul quondam Fesulanus / Vita morali / Doctrina spiritali / alter vixit Davit / populum Verbo reconciliavit.' In 1522 the tomb was broken up, perhaps to make room for the Presepio, and lying neglected for many years, the front slab was at last in 1570 built into the wall where we now see it [B.; C., and Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' I., 291, 363].

The first of the two chapels in the North wall introduces us to another order of things. We have now to do with the north aisle of 1246, altered indeed by the changes begun in 1279, but bearing unmistakable traces in at least three chapels of what it once was. The corner shafts and their carved capitals in these bays of the ancient aisle speak of the school of the Pisani, and deserve much more careful attention than they have yet received.

The first chapel was anciently dedicated to St. Gregory, and belonged in 1316 to the Confraternity of St. Peter Martyr, who furnished it in that year with a bench, a wrought-iron grille, and a matting for the floor. This was a pious society, who met weekly to sing hymns to the Virgin, whence they are sometimes called the Society of St. Mary, or simply the Laudesi. Founded in 1243 by Peter of Verona this Confraternity no doubt felt a strong attraction to the East Transept as that part of S. M. Novella which lay nearest to the Piazza Vecchia, where their founder had set up his pulpit against the Patarenes. In 1285 the Society of St. Mary Virgin had contracted with the Sienese painter Duccio di Buoninsegna for a large tavola of the Madonna which he was to furnish at the price of 150 lire of the fiorini piccoli. This picture, then, must have stood in St. Gregory's Chapel while the Society had possession of that place, and before it they no doubt gathered to sing Lauds: the officials sitting on the bench within the grille and the other members standing in the Transept outside. Such were the conditions and use of this chapel in 1316. [See Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' I., XLII., 99, 118, &c.; and I., 15 April, 1285; J., anno 1316.] On the 8th of March, 1334, died Messer Riccardo di Ricco Bardi 'chiamato Califfo' and his will gave orders that a chapel should be founded in this Church under the title of St. Gregory (Bibl. Naz. Flor. MSS. Passerini, No. 45, p. 149). A deed of the Convent dated 1335 accepted the 200 florins left by Riccardo, and in return handed over to Pietro, Alessandro, and Tommaso, his sons, 'Cappellam tituli S. Gregorii in Ecclesia S. M. Novelle sitam, que nulli alio est concessa,' with liberty to bury their father and the knights of their house in front of the altar, and to make another tomb in the floor for the rest of the family, but no raised sepulchre (MS. Strozz. Archivio di Stato, V., 89, p. 197). This change of ownership, we may believe, marks the time when Duccio's Madonna passed from the Chapel which no longer belonged to the Laudesi. The Bardi placed a memorial stone with a St. Gregory and their arms in the east pilaster, and would no doubt wish to adorn the altar with some similar piece of painting, while the Laudesi, moved by the memory of their Founder, would cling still to this corner of the Transept. Nothing could be more natural than that room should be found for Duccio's panel on the adjoining wall. But this is the very place where Vasari found the great picture of the Madonna which he ascribes to Cimabue:—'che è posta in alto,' he says, 'fra la cappella de' Rucellai e quella de' Bardi da Vernio' (*op. cit.*, I., 254). There can therefore be little doubt that this attribution is wrong, and that the picture is in fact Duccio's. It was probably removed to its present place in the Rucellai Chapel c. 1570,

when its former situation on the wall was taken by the carved slab from Bishop Corrado's tomb.

The family which in 1335 obtained the Chapel of St. Gregory were known as the Bardi Ilarioni da Vernio, and they remained in possession here for more than 200 years. The place was afterwards dedicated to St. Dominic, and about the middle of the eighteenth century a lay brother of S. M. Novella collected money for the restoration and embellishment of the Chapel, according to the ideas of the time which are sufficiently seen in the profusion of gilding and mediocre pictures with which it is now filled. The angle-shafts of early times are still visible, but a heavy cornice prevents their capitals from being seen. [D., p. 301; B.; J.]

The next Chapel to the west belonged to another branch of the Bardi family and was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. In 1356 Marco di Bernardo Bardi, with consent of Jacopo di Giovanni Bardi and Messer Antonio di Filippo Bardi, Pievano of Ancisa, sold it to Paolo di Antonio di Messer Zanobi da Castagnuolo, who removed the Bardi arms and tomb which had been here. In the fifteenth century the Chapel belonged to the Strozzi, and the dedication had become double—to St. John and St. Philip. On the 21st of April, 1487, Filippo Strozzi contracted with Fra Filippo Lippi (Filippino) to execute the frescoes here. These however were not completed till 1502, as appears from an inscription traced by the painter himself among the architecture in the scene of Drusiana's Resurrection. Meanwhile Filippo Strozzi was dead (1491). His tomb, begun during his lifetime by Benedetto da Maiano, stands on the back wall of the Chapel and is exceedingly fine. [D., pp. 28, 301; B.; Arch. di Stato, MS., V., 89, p. 159; C. See also Vasari, *op. cit.*, III., 471, and note.]

In the Transept floor, before the Chapel of St. John, was buried one of the most eminent men whom S. Maria Novella ever produced. This was Fra Jacopo Passavanti, a master of the pure Tuscan tongue, a mighty preacher and great help to the Convent, which he served as Master of Works and ruled as Prior. He died 15th June, 1357, and was buried here in a tomb, carved with his full-length figure, and an inscription already illegible in Fineschi's day. [H., Life of Passavanti.]

Chancel.

The date of this part of the Church has generally been put much too late, perhaps because its building has been confused with its decoration, to which the records relied on probably refer. It belongs to the same period as the Nave—*i.e.*, 1279–1300, and this is proved by the account we have of an ancient tombstone once visible in the floor—that of Bindo Tosinghi—bearing a black dragon on a yellow field, and the date 1303 [I., Add. MS., No. 2, saec. XVII.]. The site on which the chancel stands is said by Fineschi ('Memorie Istoriche,' I., 129) to have been given by the Ricci, and this family accordingly remained patrons of the place when it was built. About 1340, when Fra Jacopo Passavanti was Master of Works, he interested the Tornaquinci—his mother's family—in this part of the Church, and got them to contribute money for its decoration. The work was given to Andrea di Cione (Orgagna), who painted here in fresco the legends of the Virgin and St. John Baptist [H.]. These were probably completed before 1348, for in that year a Provincial Council of the Order of St. Dominic assembled in the

Chapel of San Niccolò, and decided that while, in recognition of their liberality, the Tornaquinci might be allowed to paint their arms in the Chancel, as indeed they had already done, this was not to be held as giving them right of burial here [H.]. The true patron was Rosso dei Ricci, a gallant captain of the Florentine troops, who, dying at a great age in 1383 while Podestà of Ascoli, was buried here in his armour [I., Add. MS., No. 2]. Entries in the City accounts, dated 22 April, 1462, and 16 April 1466, show that money was then contributed for repairs on the Church, especially the roof and campanile (Gaye, 'Carteggio Inedito,' Vol. I., *sub annis*). The damage done had affected Orgagna's frescoes in the Chancel, and made it necessary that they should be repainted. Again the Ricci, who do not seem to have been wealthy, were constrained to yield their right over the Chancel to others. The Sassetti were, as we shall presently see, the patrons of the High Altar, and in 1469 a meeting of the Convent Chapter gave them power to carry out the needful work of repainting and decoration. Trouble soon arose, however, when Francesco Sassetti proposed to use this power by having the Chancel painted with the story of his patron, St. Francis of Assisi. This the Dominicans of S. M. Novella could by no means allow, nor can it have been welcome to the descendants of the Tornaquinci—now the Tornabuoni—that the work done by Orgagna for their ancestors should thus utterly perish. The difficulty was solved in the following way:—Francesco Sassetti renounced his right but not his purpose, carried his money elsewhere, and caused Domenico Ghirlandaio to paint the story of St. Francis in the Sassetti Chapel of Sta. Trinità—a work finished Dec. 15, 1485. Meanwhile the Tornabuoni came to the help of S. M. Novella, as their ancestors had done, and succeeding to the right relinquished by the Sassetti, engaged Ghirlandaio to do what was necessary in the Chancel [I., Add. MS., No. 2]. The work was done, as we should expect, in a conservative spirit, and not only do Ghirlandaio's frescoes repeat the legends which had been painted here so long before, but Vasari tells us, (*op. cit.*, I., 595) that this artist availed himself of the ideas and lines of Orgagna as far as the damaged state of these paintings would permit. This would seem particularly evident in the frescoes of the Evangelists in the vault, which have much of the severity of an earlier age. Ghirlandaio finished his work in Sta. Trinita at the close of 1485, and began the Chancel of S. M. Novella before the year was out (Vasari, *op. cit.*, III., 261, note). An inscription on the wall at the right of the altar, in the scene where Zacharias is addressed by the Angel in the Temple, records, in words attributed to Politian, the time when these frescoes were finished:—'An. MCCCCLXXXX quo pulcherrima civitas opibus victoriis artibus aedificiis que nobilis copia salubritate pace perfruebatur.'

These frescoes cost Giovanni Tornabuoni, the donor, a thousand florins, and he frankly acknowledged that they were well worth it, while begging Ghirlandaio to forget their agreement that two hundred more should be paid in case of the work proving satisfactory. The Chancel thus decorated was opened to inspection on Dec. 22, 1490 (*ibid.*), and met with general approval save from the Ricci. In yielding their rights in respect of these decorations, this family had signed a written contract with the Tornabuoni, which contained the condition that the Ricci arms should be painted in the most honourable place. They now sought them in vain under the multiplied heraldry of the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci, which covered the Chancel arch according to the bearings of each branch of that family. The matter was carried to Court where, however, the plaintiffs came off but ill, as Giovanni Tornabuoni was able to point out a small shield with the Ricci arms which Ghirlandaio by his directions had painted on the Tabernacle of the High Altar. This was held to fulfil the

terms of the contract, as it was clearly the most honourable place in the Chancel (Vasari, *op. cit.*, III., 261, 262, and C.).

The frescoes of Ghirlandaio represent, on the Chancel vault, the four Evangelists; on the window wall the Annunciation, John the Baptist in the Desert, the legends of St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, and in the lunette above the window many other saints in their quality of protectors of Florence, kneeling to implore the Divine blessing on the city (Vasari, *op. cit.*, III., 262). The side wall to the right as we look northward, bears the history of St. John the Baptist in many compartments, and that on the left the story of the Virgin. No small interest attaches to these paintings on account of the number of contemporary portraits which they present. On the window wall below, one on each side, kneel the figures of Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife. Ginevra dei Benci, a noted Florentine beauty, appears twice, standing in stiff cloth of gold in the two compartments of the side walls which lie nearest the north end of the Chancel. But the interest is multiplied as we come to notice the first scene on each side. The compartment where Ghirlandaio has painted the appearance of the Angel to Zacharias in the Temple contains no less than twenty-one portraits. These are assured to us by a document of 1561—a sketch of this compartment—to which Vincenzo di Piero Tornaquinci added the names from the dictation of Benedetto di Luca Landucci who, being then 89 years old, had seen in life all the characters here represented (see Manni, 'Sigilli,' XVIII., 131; Vasari, *op. cit.*, III., 266, note). Beside the Angel are four cowled figures—Giovanni Tornabuoni, the donor: Pietro Popoleschi; Girolamo Giachinotti, and Leonardo, the donor's brother. Opposite these, on the side of Zacharias, are three figures, also wearing the Florentine head-dress: Giuliano Tornabuoni, Giovanni Tornaquinci, and Gianfrancesco Tornabuoni. Immediately behind the last three stand two figures, bareheaded, who are Girolamo and Simone Tornabuoni. Looking back to the side of the picture where the Angel appears, we see a group of five persons behind those first mentioned. The five are arranged in lines of three and two, one behind the other. The three in front are Gianbattista Tornabuoni, Luigi Tornabuoni, and Tieri Tornaquinci, who stands with his flowing grey hair uncovered. Behind these stand a priest of San Lorenzo noted for his singing, and Benedetto Dei the Buffoon. Immediately beneath this group, at the lower left hand of the scene, are four half figures. These have great interest as portraits of distinguished members of the Platonic Academy. They are Marsilio Ficino, dressed as a canon; Cristoforo Landini in a red cape with black collar; Angelo Poliziano, who stands in the middle and lifts his hand, and finally, Gentile, Bishop of Arezzo (Bibl. Naz. Flor. XIII., 89, p. 54, however, says 'quello che si gli volta è Demetrio Greco'). Opposite this group on the lower right of the scene are three half-figures of youths, then employed in the counting-house of the Medici. In the middle is Andrea dei Medici, and the others are Federico Sassetti and Gianfrancesco Ridolfi. The corresponding compartment on the other side of the chancel shows the scene where the offering of Joachim is rejected. At the lower right hand corner there is a group of artistic portraits: Dominico Ghirlandaio, the painter of these walls, stands in red and blue with hand on hip; next him comes Daniello, the painter's brother, wearing a cap, and turning his shoulders to the spectator; between these is seen the head of an elderly man variously described as Tommaso Bigordi, the father of these brothers, or as Alesso Baldovinetti, Domenico's master. The fourth and last in the group, with a youthful and almost feminine face, is Sebastiano da San Gemignano, the painter's pupil. We may add that in the compartment next the window, on the right hand side wall, where the Visitation is represented, and where we have already noticed the portrait of Ginevra dei Benci,

a male figure on a terrace in the background is said to have been painted by Michael Angelo, who had become a pupil of Ghirlandaio during the progress of this work, namely in 1488 (Vasari, *op. cit.*, VII., 138). The fine stained window of the Chancel belongs to the same period as the frescoes. It was executed, probably from Ghirlandaio's design, by Sandro di Giovanni di Andrea Agolanti called 'Bidello,' and bears the following inscription:—'Opus Alexandri Fiorentini MCCCCXCI.' Giovanni Tornabuoni also fitted the Chancel with its fine carved and inlaid stalls, which are in part at least the youthful work of Baccio di Agnolo Baglioni, in the years 1491–96 (Vasari, *op. cit.*, V., 350, note). On the right as we enter the Chancel, a stall bears the figure of St. Laurence inlaid in wood, and on the left there is a corresponding work representing St. John the Baptist—both worth notice. On the destruction in 1565 of the great Choir in the Tramezzo of the Church, more accommodation was needed here, and the Chancel stalls were altered and added to by Giovanni da Settignano, who carried out Vasari's plan at the cost of 488 scudi for 38 stalls (Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' I., 24).

The High Altar was probably first built by the Sassetti family, who were certainly its patrons and possessors early in the fourteenth century, as appears from an entry in the ancient Obit book of the Convent:—'F. Baro (Fra Barone) de parentela Saxettorum Confessor magnus et predicator magnus . . . tabulam Maioris Altaris sua procuratione fieri fecit: obiit 1324' [I., Add. MSS. No. 2]. This picture must have been that mentioned by Vasari (*op. cit.*, I., 454) as the work of Ugolino di Siena. He says it stood many years on the High Altar and was then transferred to that of the Chapter-House or Spanish Chapel. The reason why the ancient altarpiece was banished from the High Altar of the Church, and the time of its removal, appear in the fact that by a will dated 1429, Madonna Fiorana, daughter of Pellaio Sassetti and widow of Talano di Luigi Adimari, left 200 florins to be spent on a new picture for the High Altar. [D., p. 406.] The right of the Sassetti over the High Altar was confirmed in a chapter held in 1469 [I., Add. MSS. No. 2]. In speaking of the Chancel at large we have noted the quarrel between the Convent and Francesco Sassetti. In consequence the Frati removed, in 1488, the Sassetti arms from the High Altar [D., p. 406] and gave the patronage to the Ricci, who were already patrons of the Chancel. The Ricci, as we have seen, gave a faculty to Giovanni Tornabuoni, and he, not content with adorning the walls, supplying the window, and fitting up the Choir, undertook to restore the High Altar as well. Baccio di Agnolo Baglioni made the Altar in wood, and Domenico Ghirlandaio commenced the Altarpiece, contriving in the predella a place for the Tabernacle and painting it with the Ricci arms as has been said [C.]. This altarpiece was an elaborate work in the form of a double triptych, or six panels set back to back in a heavy frame so that the one picture looked into the Church and the other into the Chancel. In the centre of the Church side, Ghirlandaio painted the Virgin appearing to St. Dominic and St. Mary Magdalen, bearing in her arms the Divine Child and attended by the Archangel Michael and St. John Baptist. On each side stood a recessed panel or niche containing a life-sized figure: on the right St. Catherine with cross and book, on the left St. Laurence dressed as a deacon. The reverse of this altarpiece, left unfinished by Domenico at his death in 1494, was completed by Davide and Benedetto his brothers. In the centre appeared the Resurrection of Christ, and the panels to left and right bore figures of St. Anthony and St. Vincent Ferrer. Francesco Granacci helped the Ghirlandai in this work. The altarpiece was broken up in the beginning of the nineteenth century and sold in parts, so that it must now be sought, some of it in the Berlin

Gallery, some in that of Munich, and some in the collection of Prince Lucien Buonaparte (Vasari, *op. cit.*, III., 268, note, and V., 340). The cause of this deplorable vandalism was the determination to remove Baglioni's wooden altar and replace it by one of marble, which was done in 1804 under the design of Del Rosso and at the expense of Fra Tommaso Valori, who paid for this tasteless work with money saved from the proceeds of the Convent Pharmacy of which he was the restorer and director.

The West Transept.

This had been the Choir of 1246, and the name, and perhaps also the usage, long persisted. Thus in a document of 1325 the Chapel of St. Luke, presently to be described, is said to be 'in choro' [F., first instrument]. Fineschi says it was called the 'Cappella del Coro' [H., Life of Saltarelli] and explains the name by adding a little further on, in the same MS., that near the Sacristy was the 'Coro dei Conversi.' That this was no mere survival of an old name is proved by the fact that here stood one of the Organs presented by Archbishop Saltarelli: the other being placed above the Choir proper on the Screen of the Tramezzo [*ibid.*]. The West Transept, then, must have been the Choir of S. M. Novella from 1250 to 1280, and from that time must have still continued as the Choir of the Lay Brethren or Conversi. Whether the stalls placed by Giovanni Tornabuoni behind the High Altar in 1495, were meant to provide a new situation for the Coro dei Conversi, as seems likely, or whether from that date till 1565 there were actually three Choirs in the Church, we have no means of determining.

Chapel of St. Luke.—We here return to the north aisle of 1246, marked in this place especially by the very characteristic carvings of the capitals in the corners. This would be the fifth chapel of the aisle, reckoning that two have been swept away to form the Chancel. Both Vasari and Petrei (Bibl. Naz. Flor. MS. XIII., 89, p. 54) assert that during the sixteenth century faint traces might still be seen of the frescoes executed here c. 1250 by the 'Greeks' under whom Cimabue studied. The dedication of the Chapel to St. Luke is sometimes explained by saying that the work of enlarging S. M. Novella was begun here on St. Luke's day, 1279, which would be October 18th [B., 'e fù il primo altare di quella Chiesa'; Fineschi, 'Forestiero Istruito,' &c.]. But this is doubtful, for the Necrology of the Convent in speaking of Fra Ranieri called 'il Greco' who died in 1317, after a life of 53 years in the Order, says of him :—'Beatum Lucam Evangelistam acceperat in Patronum, et altare suum decenti cultu ornabat' (see Fineschi, 'Memorie Istoriche,' I., 366). This would seem like a devotion begun when Fra Ranieri entered the Order, c. 1264, and would suggest that the dedication in question may have been earlier than 1279. It is to be observed, too, that an independent authority gives Dec. 13th as the date when work was commenced in the Church [D., p. 28]. This would be the day not of St. Luke, but of Sta Lucia, and we find this chapel at least once referred to as the 'Cappella di Santa Lucia' [B.]. Leaving these uncertainties, we come to firm ground in the fact that Fra Jacopo da Castelbuono, who sat as Bishop of Florence for forty days, and died in 1286, was buried in this Chapel in a marble tomb, perhaps in recognition of the zeal with which, during his short tenure of office, he had urged the diocese to contribute to the building of Santa Maria Novella. If the Chapel was ever dedicated to Santa Lucia, we know at least that St. Luke was its Titular in 1325. The document of this year, already referred to in other connections, informs us that the Prior of S. M. Novella, Fra Niccolò Telli da Signa, as co-executor of Guardina Guardi along with Margherita Tornaquinci, daughter of Guardina, and wife of

Branca degli Scali, gave to Margherita the Chapel of St. Luke in return for the 200 florins of her mother's money which had been spent in the enlargement of the Church [F.]. The arms of the Guardi and Scali were put up here, and Vasari tells us that Simone Memmi painted the altarpiece in tempera, and signed it with his name, representing in this picture the Madonna, with St. Luke and other Saints (*op. cit.*, I., 549). Some further decoration in fresco would seem to have been done here, for, till late in the seventeenth century, the west wall of the Chapel bore frescoes which had probably been executed in the fourteenth, at the orders of the Scali family. They will be found engraved in Corbinelli, 'Histoire de la Maison de Gondi,' Paris, 1705, Vol. I., p. ccii., and consisted of two distinct scenes: that on the wall represented Capernaum, the Lake of Galilee, and the calling of Peter (perhaps because the Apostle was the patron saint of Piero Guardi, the father of Guardina, and grandfather of Margherita Tornaquinci or Scali), while the lunette above showed Christ in glory surrounded by the four Evangelists. Cinelli, in an unpublished work, speaks of a Madonna and Child, painted 'nell 'arco sotto la piegatura di questa Cappella,' which he praises highly as superior to the works of Cimabue or Giotto, and calls it one of the best preserved ancient frescoes in the Church (see Vasari, *op. cit.*, I., 248, note). All these paintings have been whitewashed, and only a slight trace of colour at one point of the vault remains to show that the whole has not entirely perished. In 1461 Donna Costanza dei Salviati, widow of Bartolommeo degli Scali, accepted a loan of 450 florins from the Della Luna family, and put them in temporary possession of St. Luke's Chapel. The Vicar General annulled this transaction on the 8th of August, 1466, and the place seems to have remained in possession of the Scali till the end of the century [I., Add. MSS.] In 1501 Giuliano Gondi made a will desiring to have a chapel and tomb in Santa Maria Novella, and the Chapter handed over St. Luke's Chapel in 1503 to Lionardo, Giovanni, and Federigo, the testator's sons. The arms of the Scali were now removed, as well as the tomb of Fra Jacopo da Castelbuono [B.; and Fineschi, 'Mem. Ist.', I., 185, note]. Before his death, Giuliano Gondi had commenced building a fine palace in the Piazza Firenze. The architect, Giuliano di San Gallo, was now set to work by the family on the Chapel of St. Luke, which he lined with marble. Another of the house, Francesco di Giuliano Gondi, who died in 1602, left 500 scudi to be spent by Simone, his heir, in the decoration of this place. How the money was used is not known, perhaps partly in the purchase of Brunellesco's crucifix, which, in Vasari's day, must have belonged to others as it then hung in the East Transept, between the Chapels of the Strozzi and Bardi. The story of the rival sculptors and of Donatello's generosity in praising Brunellesco's work, is too well known to need repetition. This crucifix was carved, in 1443, of lime-tree wood [E., 3 Feb. 1602, and last page; *ibid.*, Addl. MS. No. 2; Vasari, *op. cit.*, II., 333–34, 398].

Chapel of St. Dominic, St. Michael, and All Angels.—This is the sixth and last bay of the ancient aisle. The original architecture has more completely disappeared here than in any of the other aisle chapels, as the bay has been lined and domed throughout in the taste of the late renaissance. This chapel belonged to the Falconi or Falconieri family, and is said [B.] to have been erected by a certain lay brother of the Convent, whose name is given as Lapo di Falcone Falconi [D., p. 406]. It had a special importance as having been early dedicated to the Founder of the Order, and the ancient panel-picture of St. Dominic, engraved by Fineschi ('Mem. Ist.,' I., XXVIII.), and which he judged to belong to the thirteenth century, may have been at one time the altarpiece here. The second dedication to St. Michael and all Angels [C.], would seem to have dated from the times of the

Falconi, and should be noted with interest as it helps us to localise here, with much probability, two lost paintings of Stefano Fiorentino. Ghiberti in his 'Commentaries' says of this artist, 'Cominciò detto Stefano una Cappella molto egregiamente. Dipinse la tavola (the altarpiece) e l'arco dinanzi, ove sono Angeli cadenti in diverse forme . . . son fatti meravigliosamente.' Vasari, who wrote a century later, does not mention the altarpiece, which must have been removed in the meantime, but commences:—'Lasciò similmente una Cappella in Chiesa (di S. M. Novella) cominciata e non finita, che è molto consumata del tempo, nella quale si vede quando gli Angeli,' &c., speaking in even higher terms than Ghiberti of the excellence of the foreshortening; a specialty of Stefano's, which procured him the name of the 'Scimia della Natura' (*op. cit.*, I., 449, 450). No other dedication in the Church would so naturally call for a picture of the fall of the rebel angels as this of St. Michael, and with tolerable certainty, therefore, we may place the altarpiece and fresco of Stefano in the Falconi Chapel. They would seem to have been among his last works, and may accordingly be referred to the year 1349 or thereby. Long afterwards the Chapel passed into the possession of the Cavaliere Niccolò di Sinibaldo Gaddi, who removed the arms of the Falconi, and rededicated the place to St. Jerome, the patron of his family [B.], whom Taddeo, it will be remembered, had painted as a Cardinal upon the ancient Choir-screen. This Cavaliere was a Maecenas of the Arts and one of the lights of Florence during the later sixteenth century (see 'Osservatore Fiorentino,' III., 54), for Europe spoke of his Library, Museum, and Garden, and of this Chapel in S. M. Novella which he redecorated throughout. The architect employed was Giov. Antonio Dosio, a scholar of Rafaello da Montelupo, who founded his work on the style of the tombs, placed in the side walls, in memory of Niccolò and Taddeo Gaddi, the two Cardinals whose purple was the boast of the family. These tombs are of African marble, and were brought to Florence from Rome where Michael Angelo is said to have given the design after which they were carved, as well as that of the altar, which is double according to the Basilian use. The bas-reliefs on the side walls are the work of Giovanni Bandini detto dell' Opera, and Marcantonio Mureto composed the inscriptions for the tombs. Angelo Bronzino painted the altarpiece, which represents Christ raising the daughter of Jairus from the dead. This artist's pupil, Alessandro Allori, decorated the vault, and the whole was thought in its day one of the wonders of the city.

Under the stair leading to the terminal Chapel of the West Transept is a low arch with the following inscription in characters of the early fourteenth century:—'Sep(ulchrum) filiorum Rossi de Stroziis et eorum discendentium et uxorum.' At the back of the arch is a damaged fresco of the Entombment of Christ, attributed to Giottino.

The Strozzi Chapel above was probably the raised Chancel of 1246. In the seventeenth century, before it was restored, this Chapel bore, in the capitals of the corner columns, traces of another coat of arms: a dexter hand and arm issuant from the left [C.]. This would resemble the arms of the Bracci family, who were perhaps the original patrons. The first of the Strozzi to obtain possession here were the brothers Ubertino and Rosso, sons of Gerio. Ubertino held the Chapel from 1284, and Rosso, who died before 1316, had it painted, perhaps by Buffalmacco, who we know worked in this part of the Church (see Litta, 'Famiglie Italiane'). Tommaso Strozzi, grandson of Ubertino, succeeded him here and, c. 1340, caused Andrea di Cione Orgagna to adorn the Chapel with the frescoes of the Last Things which are still visible here. Andrea's brother, Leonardo, is believed to have taken part in this work, and Ghiberti in his Commentaries attributes the frescoes of this Chapel entirely to him. The dedication was now to St. Thomas Aquinas (the name-saint of Tommaso Strozzi,

canonized 1323), and in 1357 Andrea Orgagna painted the beautiful altarpiece which still remains here. It is a polyptych on tavola. In the central and largest panel is the figure of Christ in glory, surrounded by a mandorla of cherubim, seraphim, and angels, two of which play on an organ and bagpipe. On the left, St. Thomas Aquinas is presented to our Lord by His Mother, and, kneeling, receives from the right hand of Christ the Book of the Divine Wisdom. On the right, St. Peter, also kneeling and presented by St John Baptist, takes from our Lord's left hand the Keys of Discipline. The external panels contain figures of St. Michael and St. Catherine on the left, and on the right St. Laurence and St. Paul. Beneath, in the predella, are three histories. In the centre is a ship with the disciples and St. Peter walking on the sea to go to Christ; perhaps in reference to the story of St. Thomas Aquinas, who is said to have calmed the waves of the Gulf of Lyons by his prayers when travelling from Rome to Paris. On the left a Priest—perhaps St. Thomas Aquinas—says Mass, served by a company of Dominicans. The right-hand panel of the predella is itself divided into three parts. In the centre lies a dying King, watched by weeping figures, while two knights stand at the foot of the bed and a young man reads from a book. On the left the soul is weighed by the Angel of Judgment. On the right, from a rocky hermitage, a saint puts two devils to flight. Behind this picture is written :—'Questa tavola dell' Orcagna venne malamente restaurata a olio nel 1737. Nel 1861, per commissione del Mar. Luigi Strozzi di Mantova, fù nuovamente ristaurata da Ugo Baldi.' It is a fine specimen still of Orgagna's work. In this Chapel lies the body of the Beato Alessio Strozzi, Prior of S. M. Novella. He was the son of Jacopo Strozzi and Diana Giambullari and died in 1383.

Campanile.— This probably marks the site of the old Church tower of 1094. It is said to have been built c. 1330 on the old foundations (Fineschi, 'Forestiero Istruito'). The cost—said to have been 11,000 florins—was paid by Fra Simone Saltarelli, Archbishop of Pisa, who also gave the bells [D., p. 406; B.; Richa, 'Chiese'; H., Life of Saltarelli]. On 20 April, 1358, at the fourth hour of the night, a thunderbolt cast down the whole of the upper part of the tower. On the summit stood a marble angel, and this was broken to pieces, and much damage done to the roofs of the Church and Convent (Arch. di Stato, Books of S. M. N., Vol. 444, Diary of Fra Bernardo Bernardone). The Confraternity of St. Peter Martyr contributed in 1359 to the repairs [G.], and the Campanile was rebuilt after the design of Fra Jacopo Talenti. The Prior, Fra Piero di Ubertino Strozzi, who died 1362, caused a box of relics to be placed near the top of the new tower to prevent any further damage: a device which did not prove effectual, as the Campanile was repeatedly struck by lightning. Ammirati, the Chronicler, says that these disasters were generally thought to be a judgment from Heaven on the clerical pride which had planned so magnificent a building, and a tower so like that of Babel. Till the last restoration in the nineteenth century, the angles of the roof-pinnacle were of crocketed marble. Memmi ('Veglie Piacevoli,' 1815, Vol. V., p. 119) says that the Campanile had two bells, dated 1305 and 1310, the work of Puccio a bell-founder of the parish of San Michele Visdomini, and mentions in his 'Zibaldone' (MS. in Bibl. Ricc. Flor.) that on a bell of S. Margherita a Montici there were the words :—'A. D. MCCCVII., Puccius Florentinus me fecit.' These dates may indicate that in an early form the Campanile had been finished along with the Church itself in 1300, though perhaps not in the fine and lofty style it showed later. When Saltarelli added to it c. 1330, he also furnished a peal of three bells. One of these bore the inscription :—'Ugolinus de Bononia me fecit 1331,' while the other two were dated 1333, and bore the name of Puccio

Fiorentino [B.; and Richa, 'Chiese']. These old bells were recast in 1762 by Alessandro Tognozzi-Moreni.

A door which still opens into the tower from the West Transept gave access in ancient times to what was called the Campanile Chapel. This was already finished in 1334, when on March 24 Albizzo di Nardo di Giunta Rucellai, of the Parish of San Pancrazio, mentioned it in his will. In a codicil dated April 16, he desired that 160 florins should be used to build him a tomb 'outside the Chapel of All Saints, which is in the Campanile of the said Church of Santa Maria Novella, and to pay for the painting of the Chapel itself' [I., *sub anno*]. The place is still marked by an ancient fresco over the door, which is generally attributed to Buffalmacco, and he may have been the artist employed under the will of Albizzo Rucellai. The Chapel was restored by Andrea Rucellai, who died in 1464 [B.], and the marble pila at the door still bears his name in an almost illegible inscription. Buffalmacco's fresco was restored at the close of the first quarter of the sixteenth century under the will of Piero di Mariotto Rucellai, who, dying in 1524, left money for that purpose [B.].

Sacristy.—Fra Barone Sassetti, patron of the High Altar, who died in 1323, 'Sacristiam munivit paramentis de ,verico duplicatis' (vestments lined with vair). A little later Archbishop Saltarelli of Pisa gave some silver crosses, a *dossale* of *drappo travisato* richly figured, and another of green with the Saltarelli arms, and a silver chalice with those of the Archbishopric of Pisa. Fra Michele dei Pilastri furnished a *piviale* of blue, adorned with figures of angels in gold thread, enamel, and silver embroidery [I., Add. MSS. No. 2; Biliotti, quoted in Richa, 'Chiese;' and H., Lives of Saltarelli and Pilastri]. Up to this time the Sacristy was probably that room between Church and Convent called in later days the 'Stanza de' Beati.' About 1360 Mainardo Cavalcanti built a great chapel over the remains of the Church of 1094 in the angle between the Nave and the West Transept [H., Life of Pilastri]. The architect was Fra Jacopo Talenti, and this private chapel became, at what time is uncertain, the new Sacristy. Fra Michele dei Pilastri had St. Ignatius painted on the Transept wall near the Sacristy door [*ibid.*]. Mass was said here before Pope Martin V. on the 3rd of March, 1419 [A.]. About 1440 Fra Giovanni Masi presented the Sacristy with four reliquaries, painted by Fra Angelico with scenes from the life of the Virgin. Three have been preserved and may be seen in the Museo di San Marco (Vasari, *op. cit.*, II., 513, note). In 1497 the fine lavabo was made by Giovanni Della Robbia (*ibid.*, II., 193). In 1565 when the Choir-screen was destroyed, the tomb of the founder of the Sacristy, Mainardo Cavalcanti, was brought to this, which had been his family chapel, and with it came the altarpiece. The ornate façade was designed by Fabrizio Boschi: on it remain two ancient shields of the Cavalcanti. Over the door within is a crucifix attributed to the almost unknown sculptor Masaccio. The stained glass of the window is old and fine: it was here on the south wall that the altar stood. The presses are of lime-tree wood by Buontalenti: that containing the relics has panels painted by Perini. The decoration of the vaulting ribs, though repainted, is the same as that in the little sacristy of San Niccolò in the Pharmacy of the Convent.

Outside the Sacristy, near the corner of the Nave, is a small altar with a figure of St. Dominic. This Chapel and a tomb before it formerly belonged to the Regnadori family, and theirs is the curious pila still visible at the corner. It consists of an Etruscan vase in granite on a marble stand, said to have been the work of Michael Angelo. Rosselli says it bore the name of 'Leonardus Regnator' [C.].

PART III.

THE SPANISH CHAPEL.

(CHIEFLY IDEAL AND ARTISTIC.)

CHAPTER I.

The Founder and His Building.

WHO would imagine that things so pure and sweet, so stately and so restrained, as the building and decoration of the Chapter-House in Santa Maria Novella could spring from a year of pestilence and death such as made 1348 long remembered in the annals of Florence? We can understand how plague may move to penitence and to sacrifice, but it is strange indeed that these walls, if built in such a spirit, should show, not the Death of the Pisan Campo Santo, but the reverse of that picture. Life is all in all here, and life that triumphs, easily, constantly, and, as it were, inevitably over 'the last enemy that shall be destroyed.' Here is no dread Fury casting her iron net over those who love to live, while she flies from others who only pray to die; here are no open graves, no triumph of the worm. Once for all Death appears to claim the race in the person of our Redeemer. With a gentle majesty He yields His life on the Cross, and thenceforth all is victory—'O Death where is thy sting, O Grave where is thy victory?' Victory over Satan in Hades, over Death in Resurrection. Victory over natural forces in the storm, over earthly restraints in the Ascension; over human ignorance by the Spirit, and finally victory in men themselves thus illumined, who not only themselves overcome but bring others to share the same triumph. 'Thanks be unto God which always giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.' Not that essential fact is ignored, but reduced to its due proportion in regard to the whole scale and range of Christian truth. Death is here as it is in the world, but represented with such splendid restraint that it almost escapes notice even as it counts for little in the Christian reckoning. The earthly king of the Spanish Chapel—the

Emperor of the east wall—holds in his hand an orb of dominion which is a skull, while above sits the Heavenly King, of whose Dominion there is no end. As is the narrow circle of this painted orb of passing and fading power to the greater world of perishing men which it represents, so is the place which death holds with those who know the faith of the Son of God. It shadows not their lives, nor do they altogether ignore it as the careless, but find in the thought of death a gentle impulse toward the unseen: 'having a desire to depart and to be with Christ which is far better.'

In the dread year which gave birth to all this beauty the plague fell on Italy from the East, gradually at first, and then with fatal, unheard-of force as the passing spring-time brought on the fierce heats of summer. From Pisa, and Genoa, and Venice the infection came to Florence with the news of its ravages abroad, and fear prepared many a victim for his fate. Processions with lights and litanies marked the early days of the plague; then, as death raged more fiercely under a brazen heaven, men bethought them of other means. The city was cleansed of its worst impurities, how we know not, but certainly too late, and therefore without effect. Men died in their houses, and in the very societies they had formed to avoid death by careful or careless living. They died fasting, or feasting, or measuring their diet; died in concerts of music to the sound of viols, or walking the streets with the perfume of rosemary, sweet-smelling herbs or of cunningly compounded pomanders, in their nostrils. They died everywhere, and their bodies lay at the thresholds of their houses, or were carried carelessly in whole companies to chance graves or trenches cut in the cemeteries, while swine tossed in the streets their plague-stricken rags and sickened and died at the touch. All law, all order were gone, and Death alone, with an iron sceptre, sat enthroned in the high places of Florence.[1]

The storyteller of the century who has left us such a vivid picture of these dread days gathers in Santa Maria Novella, at a Tuesday morning Mass, the gentle company of lovely ladies and high-born youths who, when they had left behind the empty and yet dangerous spaces of the city, gained the solitude of a country retreat and laid aside their mourning, became the 'joyous fellowship' of the Decameron. This was no mere invention, and yet it gives but a partial view of Florentine life under the plague, and of the effect this pestilence had upon the City. While many must have

[1] See Boccaccio, Introduction to the 'Decamerone.'

sought distraction such as Boccaccio describes, it cannot but have been that the plague awakened in others the spirit of devotion proper to a religious life. The near presence of death; the sense of personal peril; the state of those who suddenly found themselves in the high places of Christian duty at the call of mere ordinary humanity; the Church represented by her last rites in almost every house; the added solemnity of public offices said in haste to handfuls of people in wide, unoccupied spaces or under burial-vaults themselves: surely all this was enough to awaken the most careless, to fire the coldest, and must certainly have won from the devout many a heartfelt prayer and pious purpose.

One of these devotees was Buonamico di Lapo Guidalotti of the Buombaroni. His family was ancient and had risen to civic honours in the person of Lippo, Buonamico's brother, who was made Priore of the Sestiere del Duomo in 1342, and three years later proceeded ambassador of Florence to Bologna.[1] Buonamico or Mico, as he was familiarly called, was at the time of which we speak a man of mature age, married to his second wife, and leading the peaceful and prosperous life of a Florentine merchant. He belonged to the Parish of S. Maria Maggiore, but had many ties to Santa Maria Novella, where his family were buried in a tomb or vault marked with their arms: or, a wing displayed azure, signed with a Greek cross of the field. His religion took the form of a special devotion to the Holy Sacrament: that stated worship of the Body and Blood of Christ which the ecstatic soul of the Nun of Liege had dreamed in 1261, and which was finally sanctioned by Clement V. in 1311, when he enjoined the observance of Corpus Christi day. Mico had chosen as his friend and perhaps director a distinguished Dominican of S. Maria Novella, Fra Jacopo Passavanti; so that a living spiritual bond united him to that Church and Convent where so many of his family had already found a quiet resting-place.

This Fra Jacopo was a man of about the same age as Guidalotti, and his connections and character were such as to give him a commanding influence over all who acknowledged his direction or sought his counsel. On the father's side one of his relatives had been four times Gonfaloniere di Giustizia, and had earned a just popularity in Florence by opposing the attempted tyranny of the Duke of Athens.[2] By his mother, Donna Cecca

[1] For the details of Guidalotti's life see Mecatti, 'Notizie Istoriche,' Firenze, 1737.

[2] For the details of Passavanti's life see H., Life of Fra Jacopo Passavanti.

or Francesca, he came of the Tornaquinci, one of the proudest of Florentine families. Passavanti early professed religion in Santa Maria Novella and proceeded to study at Paris. He was successively Prior at Pistoia, San Miniato dei Tedeschi, and Florence. Deeply read in Holy Scripture and a master of fluent and elegant Tuscan of the golden age, he was among the first to propose a complete and uniform version of the Bible in the Italian language. His translation of St. Augustine's 'City of God' and his Lenten Sermons, soon published as 'The Mirror of True Penitents,' show how fitly he might himself have produced the Italian Bible, to which, indeed, some think he was at least a contributor. Of his personal piety there cannot be the least question, and it is certain that in these dark and trying days Guidalotti could not have entrusted his spiritual concerns to better hands.

The plague of 1348 spread its wings over Florence like some dark and noisome bird: on wings of night it came, and like the night withdrew. How did the shadow of this death affect the men of whom we have been speaking? Guidalotti had time on his hands, for the story-teller says that in Florence almost all business was at an end: time then to think and to resolve. His devotion cannot but have struck a deeper note, the prelude to a higher purpose. More than ever drawn to that Sacrament which offers the Body and Blood of Him who 'took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses,' this devotee, sensible that to God he owed the mercy of his own escape when fifty thousand fell at his right hand, and as many at his left, determined to show his gratitude in a stately building which should be dedicated to the Mystery of the Corpus Domini. He was wealthy and, though twice married, childless; what better use could he make of his riches?

Passavanti, with equal piety, possessed a keen practical sense. In the common peril, which menaced both devotee and director, a certain professional calm marked the attitude and conduct of this remarkable man. Devoted to learning, and having the interests of his Convent always at heart, "he got many books for the Library in the year of plague."[1] Under his direction Guidalotti's purpose could hardly fail of accomplishment, and might even be developed to a yet unthought-of issue. Had the Convent a want that could be supplied with any due

[1] H.

regard to the fundamental idea of this devotee, then we may be sure that in such a direction his liberality would be discreetly guided.

A Provincial Council of Dominicans had met in the Chapel of St. Nicholas at Santa Maria Novella, "where about one hundred and fifteen Friars assembled from the principal Convents, in that year when the fatal plague followed."[1] Now, why in St. Nicholas' Chapel and not in the Chapter-House, but that the Capitolo del Nocentino was too small for such an assembly? Built at the beginning of the century, it could not grow with the progress of the buildings that successively came to stand about it, or keep pace with the rising importance of a Convent now likely to be the scene not only of Provincial but even of General Councils of the whole Order.[2] Here then was the crying need of the place: a new Chapter-House spacious enough to suit the altered times and established fame of Santa Maria Novella. Now there was no reason why Guidalotti should forget his personal desire while devoting his means to meet this felt want. His ideas were liberal, and a Chapel of the Sacrament that should be large enough to form a sufficient Chapter-House, or a Chapter-House with a Chapel of the Sacrament contained or annexed, was not beyond the limit of his purse or purpose. Given then the relation which in fact subsisted between him and Passavanti, and the thing was as good as accomplished.

Not that the problem to be solved was altogether a simple one when regarded from the builder's point of view. The site granted by the Convent lay on the south of the Friars' burial-ground, from the Dormitory to the Sepolcreto. Here was the original Chapel of the Virgin of the Novella, and this might be given up; but beside it stood the burial vault of the Strozzi, a comparatively recent structure, which perforce must be respected. The architect of the Convent at this time was, however, Fra Jacopo Talenti, a thoroughly capable man, who did himself the greatest credit in the plan he produced The available frontage to the south determined the longer axis of an ample Chapter-House. On the north-west a reëntering angle was contrived, which, balancing the necessary intrusion of the Strozzi vault on the opposite side, gave room for a small sacristy, while the space between, extending from the Chapter-House proper to the limit of the Friars' burial-ground,

[1] H.

[2] Mecatti reports that General Councils of the Order were, in fact, held here in 1374, 1414, and 1421. *Op. cit.*

formed a sufficient Chapel of the Sacrament such as the Founder had originally desired.

On these lines, then, in the years that followed the great plague, Guidalotti's building rose. It has been supposed to show a certain likeness to the earlier Capitolo del Nocentino,[1] but in truth the difference is greater than the correspondence. Both were contrived with the common arrangement of a round light above the door in the front wall, and there the resemblance ceases. The windows of the new Chapter-House, finely wrought in marble, are still the best of their kind at Santa Maria Novella. It is true that the death and translation of St. Peter of Verona, sculptured on the doorhead, are singularly weak, and will not bear comparison with the earlier lintel of the Capitolo del Nocentino. But step within Guidalotti's Chapter-House and see how grandly Fra Jacopo Talenti has improved on his model, if model it was. Here the roof is no mere vaulted covering, thrown perforce across the space enclosed by the walls, but walls and roof alike in a new and daring proportion become the balanced members of a whole so great that surprise, as Ruskin rightly says, is an instinctive feeling that will not be denied in presence of Talenti's work. Resting on mighty vaulting-ribs that rise almost from the floor—so short and solid are the supporting corner-columns—the roof of the Chapter-House bends while it soars, and seems to bring Heaven with all its influence to bear on those for whose sake this magnificent building was contrived. Even an antiquarian might be moved to forgive the men who destroyed the ancient Chapel here at sight of that which has so splendidly supplanted it.

[1] See Fineschi, 'Il Forestiero Istruito.'

CHAPTER II.

Decoration and Later History of the Chapter House.

IN 1355 the Chapter House was finished, and, as if some subtle bond had united this building with its Founder, the life of Guidalotti also touched its close. He now lay an almost constant sufferer from repeated attacks of gout;[1] distressed in mind, too, by the conviction that to him it would never be granted to see his gift complete in a fair and final decoration of what he had built. The death of Masa, his wife, who predeceased him in July of this year, came as a new reminder that his own days were numbered, and may even have hastened the end. On the second of August he took pen in hand to secure that when he should be gone the chief desire of his later life should find its fitting crown in the frescoes of the Chapel and Chapter House.

There was no difficulty in making these last dispositions. Guidalotti was childless, and though he had already spent a considerable sum, estimated at 850 florins, in the building of the Chapter House, his estate was amply sufficient to meet the cost of decoration as well. Report said he was worth 21,000 florins, and even the 13,000 owned to by his heirs would easily furnish the sum required, and still leave untouched a goodly heritage. So he wrote his will with a free mind and hand, naming as chief executor his brother Domenico, and desiring first of all that a capital fund of 250 florins should be set aside as a provision for the annual celebration of the Corpus Domini in his Chapel, and for masses and mortuary feasts in the Convent on the anniversaries of his wife's

[1] 'Hic diu decubuit podadricus,' Chronicle of Bernardone, Arch. di Stato, Libri di S. M. Novella, Vol. 444.

death and his own. The clause relating to the decoration of the Chapter and Chapel may be given in the very words which Guidalotti's signature attested as his own :[1] "Further, the aforesaid testator left, and desired should be given from his estate, to the Friars and Convent of the Friars Preachers of Florence, to be spent and applied by the undernamed executors and trustees of this testament with the approval (de conscientia) of the Prior and Chapter of the said Convent: In and for the adorning and painting, or causing to be adorned and painted, the Chapter or place called the Chapter of the said Convent, as well as the Chapel of the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the said Convent, situated in the Chapter, or adjoining the Chapter, which is called the Chapel of the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ: Three hundred and twenty-five florins of gold, to him or them, to whom, when, how, as and so far, as shall seem good to the said undermentioned executors who shall survive, or to the majority of them, with the advice and approval (de consilio et conscientia) of the Prior and Chapter of the said Convent, seeing that the testator himself was not able during his lifetime to paint and adorn this Chapter and Chapel." The end, which was not long delayed, may be read in the words of the inscription cut on Guidalotti's tomb in the floor of the Chapter House in front of his own altar :—"Hic jacet Michus, filius olim Lapii de Guidalottiis, Mercator, qui fecit fieri et dipingi istud Capitulum cum Cappella, in habitu ordinis, anno Dni. 1355, die 4 sbris. Requiescat in Pace."

Two matters of importance emerge from the terms of this will. First, that up to the time of Guidalotti's death, on the fourth of September, 1355, no painting had been begun in the Chapel or Chapter House; and next, that as the money left to meet the expenses of their decoration was entrusted to private individuals, the Prior and Chapter only acting as an advisory committee, the books of the Convent cannot

[1] 'Item, testator predictus reliquit et de suis bonis dari voluit Fratribus et Conventui Fratrum Predicatorum de Florentia expendendis et convertendis per infrascriptis executoribus et fideicommissis huius testamenti de conscientia Prioris et Capituli dicti Conventus: in et pro ornando et pingendo seu ornari et pingi faciendo Capitulum et locum qui capitulum appellatur dicti Conventus necnon Cappellam Corporis D. N. Ih. Xti dicti Conventus sitam in Capitulo seu penes dictum Capitulum quae intitulatur Cappella Corporis D. N. Ih. Xti: flor. trecentos vigintiquinque aur. illi vel illis, cui, quibus, quando, qualiter, prout, sicut et quemadmodum ipsis infrascriptis executoribus seu viventibus ex eis vel maiori parti ipsorum videbitur et placebit, de consilio et conscientia Prioris ac Capituli dicti Conventus: dummodo ipse testator ipsum Capitulum et Cappellam tempore suae vitae pingi et ornari non potuit' (Arch. di Stato, Cartapecore di S. M. N., 2 August, 1355).

be expected to yield any entries showing how it was spent, or giving the names of the artists employed. As is well known, the traditional view has been that Taddeo Gaddi painted the west wall and roof, and Simone and Lippo Memmi the rest of the Chapter House and Chapel. This tradition seems to date from the close of the fifteenth century, as it is common to Vasari with other authors of the sixteenth, and belongs therefore to a period later by more than a hundred years than that of the painting itself. Reserving, however, a fuller discussion of this important and difficult question for the Appendix, we may here pass to speak of the first state and later fortunes of this building and its decorations.

The Chapel of the Corpus Christi as distinguished from the Chapter House on which it opens was, when first built, lighted by a large window. This is now built up, but traces of it may be seen in the outside wall that looks northward upon the Friars' Cemetery. It was not only better lighted, but we are told by Cinelli [1] that its walls showed frescoes by the same hands which had painted the Chapter House, and were covered with scenes and subjects allusive to the Sacrament—perhaps the Saviour feeding the multitudes, a Cenacolo or the like. This agrees exactly with Guidalotti's desire as expressed in his will. It is not improbable, too, that the original altar may have been smaller and set further back, so that we are to think of the distinction between Chapter and Chapel as less marked than at present. The frescoes on the walls of the latter had a better light, came more forward, and took their own place in the general scheme of decoration which found its centre and starting point in the altarpiece, a polyptych of tempera and gold also attributed to the Memmi, which now stands in the north-west corner of the Green Cloister.

There is some slight reason to suppose that the year 1430 may have marked the time of the first considerable changes in the Chapter House and its Chapel. We know, at least, that about that date the ancient altarpiece of the Church, painted more than a hundred years before by Ugolino da Siena, was taken from the High Altar of Santa Maria Novella and placed on that of the Chapel here.[2] This, then, must have been the time when the picture attributed to Memmi was removed to its present place in the Green Cloister. Why the latter change was made it is hard to say, as Ugolino's altarpiece could have had no special relation to the frescoes among which it was placed. Perhaps, however, a larger

[1] 'Bellezze di Firenze.'

[2] See *supra*, App. to Pt. II., p. 131.

scheme of restoration was on foot in which the lower part of the Chapter House walls was redecorated in fresco with geometrical patterns, either the same or similar to those we now see there. For a little attention will show that in the oblong spaces under the fourteen Powers of Wisdom on the west wall are the remains of inscriptions which no doubt once declared their respective names and representatives. But from Vasari's day onwards the most singular want of agreement as to these has prevailed among the authors who have described this place, and it may therefore be fairly argued that the original names and descriptions had disappeared before the beginning of the sixteenth century. They may not improbably, therefore, have been painted out at the time of which we speak when the altarpiece was changed.

In 1567 the Spanish Colony, which had formed a considerable element in Florentine life ever since the marriage of the Grand Duke to Eleanor of Toledo, addressed a petition to Cosimo I., setting forth that having been accustomed to meet for worship in the Chapter House of Santa Maria Novella,[1] they had long (da tanti anni) desired a right and property in the building. They offered two hundred ducats to restore the Chapel of the Sacrament, as well as a reasonable endowment for the Chaplains, and with this the Prior and Operai of the Convent were content, but not so the Friars, who pretended that they and they only, in Chapter assembled, could dispose of the Convent property. It is to be remembered that by this time the original Order had been removed from Santa Maria Novella, where, by the will of the Grand Duke, the Dominicans of the Osservanza had already taken their place. Cosimo was, indeed, in the full mood and energy of a restorer, having just cleared away the Choir Screen from the Church. His reply to the Spanish memorial might have been foreseen therefore: it was as follows:—"Let the Operai consult for the good of the Convent, and come to an agreement with the Colony, for the Friars have no say in the matter, and if their predecessors had, these at least have none at all. They came in by Our will, because of the ill deeds of the others, and We would not that the Friars should meddle in any affair concerning the buildings, adornment or improvement of Church or Convent, which would be high presumption and manifest ingratitude on their part." Dated 10th May, 1567.[2]

From this time, then, the Chapter House took its more modern

[1] This use is said to have dated from 1535.

[2] Bibl. Naz. Flor. VIII., 1486.

name, and the Chapel proper, dedicated by Guidalotti to the mystery of the Sacrament, was redecorated in a sense to suit its new character as the Choir of the "Spanish Chapel." The rededication was to St. James of Compostella. Alessandro Allori painted an altarpiece in 1592, when Ugolino's picture was removed, and covered the ancient frescoes of the Choir with the figures of St. Laurence, St. Vincent Martyr, St. Isidore, St. Hermengild, and St. Vincent Ferrer, adding medallions with the miracles of the Titular, St. James. The roof of the Choir was redecorated by Poccetti, and a tomb in the floor, evidently of this period, still bears the five shells of the Suarez de la Concha. Between Guidalotti's stone and the Chapter House door a common burial-place was built for the Colony with the elaborate arms of the kingdom of Castile on its marble cover. In later years private tombs of distinguished people were admitted here, so that the Burgos and Pietro Montorio came at last to rest on Guidalotti's right and left.

Finally, at the opening of the eighteenth century Fra Salvatore d'Ascanio, a Dominican of Malaga, and Spanish Ambassador to the Court of Tuscany, carried out at his own expense the last considerable restoration. The beautiful windows now received their elaborate screens of wrought iron, and the ancient frescoes were cleaned and repainted—it is said by the artist Agostino Veracini. Fra Salvatore must have loved the place on which he spent so lavishly. He sleeps at the altarfoot to-day, and since his time no change of any consequence has altered the aspect of what is still, in spite of all that has been done here, a haunt of ancient peace.

CHAPTER III.

The Doctrine of the Spanish Chapel: North and South Walls.

PASSAVANTI survived his friend Guidalotti almost two years: long enough to fulfil the duties laid upon him in 1355, and to plan that intellectual scheme which constant tradition has asserted that he furnished to the artists as the ground of their work here. It is difficult to suppose that anyone but a practised theologian and preacher could have arranged the succession and relation of ideas set forth on these walls, and no one was more fit or likely to have undertaken the task than Passavanti himself. One authority, indeed, thinks that the equally famous Dominican, Fra Domenico Cavalca of Pisa, may have fulfilled this office.[1] There is no reason why we should not admit the idea of a possible collaboration, or, at least, that Fra Domenico may have taken up the task in 1357 when Passavanti laid it down. It is this co-operation of learning and piety with some of the best artistic talent of the time which has made the Spanish Chapel what it is: a very wonder of the world for the combination of sustained and connected thought on the highest matters with lovely form and colour, and a sense of decorative value such as can hardly elsewhere be seen.

Two men contributed to the foundation of the place: Guidalotti with his means and the desire he had to honour the Sacrament in a special Chapel, and Passavanti in his controlling wish that the Convent should have a suitable Chapter House. Along two main lines Talenti arranged his plan: one which we may call that of Guidalotti, since it is not only the

[1] Rosini, see also Marchese, Vol. I., p. 191.

shorter diameter of the Chapter House, but, prolonged northward, becomes the axis of the Chapel proper; the other rather to be associated with Passavanti, since crossing the first at right angles under the centre of the vault it runs east and west, and forms the main axis of the Chapter House. About these lines, then, when the building was complete, Passavanti arranged his ideas for its decoration. The Chapel and north and south walls of the Chapter House received the subjects and scenes appropriate to the Sacrament, as Guidalotti's ruling idea; the east and west walls were devoted to another order of things, those more particularly concerning the Chapter, for which Passavanti had been so anxious to find due accommodation.

The true point of departure is certainly to be sought in the original altarpiece, now unfortunately separated from the frescoes which once surrounded it as a vast pictorial commentary on that primary text. In the centre panel the Infant Jesus on His Mother's knee holds a scroll written with the significant words, 'I am the Living Bread which came down from Heaven.'[1] Here, then, in His Birth at Bethlehem, stands the commencement of that Communion held by Christ with His people in every celebration of the Sacrament, and to be consummated in Heaven at the Marriage Supper of the Lamb. At His Incarnation Our Lord took upon Him our flesh and blood that in the Last Supper He might be able to take our bread too and wine, and say:—'This is My Body. This cup is the New Testament in My Blood.'[2]

Almost certainly the lost frescoes of the Chapel behind the altar must have shown this second idea in allusive scenes from the Gospel Story; but passing the uncertainty of what has disappeared, we come to the great space of the north wall arching over the altar, and find immediately on the left the Via Dolorosa. To this Our Lord went from the first celebration of the Sacrament, and by this strait gate and narrow way He passed, as we see Him do in the fresco, from the hall of Judgment to the hill of Calvary. In the very centre of the wall, just over the altar, is Calvary itself, where the One Sacrifice was once for all consummated on the Cross. It is the very moment of that consummation that we see, 'It is finished,'[3] and lest we should think that the Cross stands here simply as the central incident of Gospel story, lo, the artist has set over it, in a

[1] St. John vi. 51. [2] St. Luke xxii. 19, 20. [3] St. John xix. 30.

small compartment of the ornamental border, the well-known symbol of the pelican, which feeds her young from her own breast. Take, then, the whole perpendicular line from beneath upwards as it must have appeared while still the ancient altarpiece stood in its own place. In that picture we have the Incarnation, when Christ took our flesh and blood. Over this in the fresco, Calvary, where He made these, with His Life, an offering for us. Over that again, following the direct line of ascent, the symbol of the pelican, to say that these tremendous facts of Incarnation and Sacrifice stand here simply in view of their relation to the Sacrament where Christ makes Himself ours, with all the benefits of His death, to our spiritual nourishment and growth in grace.

On the right hand, opposite the Via Dolorosa, the wall bends downward, and following it we find our upward progress for a moment interrupted, just as in the History we are studying Christ descended from the Cross to the grave and continued there for a time. Even in these three days, however, He was living and active, as we see in the fresco, where He 'preaches to the spirits in prison'[1] and makes them partakers of the benefits of His death. The interruption is momentary, we resume the upward line of progress, reach the roof space of the north wall, and find the Resurrection. This subject is the crown intellectually, as well as the highest locally, in that perpendicular series we have already observed here. In the altarpiece are the words, 'I am the Living Bread,' and of these, in the superior scenes, the Crucifixion expounds the substantive and the Resurrection the adjective. The 'corn of wheat' has fallen into the ground and died.[2] He 'was bruised for our iniquities,'[3] thus has He been made for ever the 'Bread' He promised to be, becoming such through the earthly experiences of His Incarnation and Passion. But beneath all becoming lies being: the eternal existence of the Son of God. In this He descended from Heaven, on earth as in Heaven He is the Prince of Life, and this Life is above all manifest in Resurrection when He 'brake the bands of Death, because it was not possible that He should be holden of it.'[4] Thus, here, the roof-space crowns the altarpiece and all that lies between; the initial scroll with its splendid promise is fulfilled, He is 'the Living Bread which came down from Heaven.'

[1] 1 Peter iii. 19. [2] St. John xii. 24. [3] Isaiah liii. 5. [4] Acts ii. 24.

The main architectural line on which we have set out to travel, moving from north to south, carries us now to the opposite or south wall with its roof-space, where we find another, yet related, order of things. Hitherto, what may be called the Historic genesis of the Sacrament has occupied us, but here we see displayed its inner meaning as regards ourselves and its real power in the world. The Sacrament, says Passavanti, is, so far as our action in it is concerned, a Sacrifice. Yet this it is not in any narrow or merely ritual sense. It is a Sacrifice, not of *things* such as are the elements of bread and wine which we present, but of *persons;* nor assuredly of the sacred Body and Blood once, and once for all, offered by Christ Himself upon the Cross, but of our own bodies and lives which, as true communicants, we therein devote to His service. The form under which this great truth is here delivered is, as we should expect in such a place as the Chapter House of Santa Maria Novella, that of the Dominican religion, yet the meaning is plain and the application universal. A youth renouncing the world to receive the habit of the Order; a preacher accepting the 'offence of the Cross'[1] that he may persuade men; brethren who 'bear about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus'[2] that they may visit, tend, and heal His afflicted members: all these acts of self-sacrifice find their climax in the corner scene on the left, where one submits even to death, after the example of the Master, that he may seal his faith and testimony with his blood. It is as if Passavanti, in his own day a mighty preacher, stood in the midst of this Chapter House still, and, pointing first to the north wall, and then to what we have here, should make the words of St. Paul his own and say:—'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God (at Calvary), that ye present *your* bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.'[3]

Here also, as on the opposite (north) wall, we follow an ascending line, and find in the south roof-space the seal of that truth which the wall beneath has taught us. In the roof Christ rises from the Mount of Olives to Heaven. This is the Example which, in a spiritual sense, we are bound to follow. The heart of the whole matter lies not in giving, so much as in gaining that we may give: not in renouncing earth, save as we receive simultaneously heaven in the heart. Self-sacrifice, if it be Christian and not Buddhist, is to be sought not as an end but as a means,

[1] Gal. iii. 11. [2] 2 Cor. iv. 10. [3] Romans xii. 1.

even that we may 'sit together in heavenly places in Christ,'[1] and thence draw strength for new service of Him. What He has left behind in ascending up into Heaven is a company of the faithful who 'dwell with the King for His work,'[2] receiving Him daily in their hearts by faith that so they may abound in His service.

[1] Eph. ii. 6.

[2] 1 Chron. iv. 23.

CHAPTER IV.

The Doctrine of the Spanish Chapel: West and East Walls.

THE intersection of the two main constructive lines of the Spanish Chapel coincides of course with the centre of the vaulted roof. Ideally as well as structurally this point is central: it marks the transition from the first great order of thought here to the second. In the south roof-space we found Christ ascending. Whither? To Heaven. The roof-centre leaves, however, no room to paint the celestial city save in symbol, and even for this some expansion of that centre had to be contrived in the flat boss which seals while it masks the intersection of the vaulting. Here then stands the Lamb in Glory, gathering in Himself all the brightness and triumph of that better country where He is the Light. And from Him, thus "exalted far above all principality and power,"[1] descends the Holy Ghost the Spirit of promise: "If I depart, I will send Him unto you."[2]

This descent of the Holy Ghost is painted on the pair of opposite vaults or roof-spaces, west and east, which stretch outwards and downwards from the central boss. Here, then, through the Symbol of the Lamb in Glory, we enter on the frescoes of the second great constructive line, for He is the Alpha and Omega, the finisher of the first cycle of our Faith, and the Author and opener of the second.[3] At this point we may pause a moment to view somewhat generally the new world of truth into which we are thus introduced.

The thirteenth century had dreamt much, with the Abbot Joachim, of an 'Age of the Spirit' successive to those of the Father and the Son.

---

[1] Eph. i. 21. [2] St. John xvi. 7. [3] Rev. i. 8; Heb. xii. 2.

Many, at least among the Franciscans, had thought to find such a consummation of all things in their own day through the religion of the Mendicant Orders. Here, in this line of the Spanish Chapel, we may have, who knows, a more orthodox Dominican way of expressing the same thought.

The fourteenth century brought to Italian Christianity much searching of heart regarding the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches —a prelude to the Council and Union of 1439. If any of the Greeks who came here at that later day lingered to study these frescoes of the Chapter House they certainly found in them, and precisely on this eastern and western line, a clear expression of Latin doctrine in the visible Procession of the Spirit from the Son of God.

Yet neither of these is the ruling idea here. We are now in the main line of the Chapter House as distinguished from the Chapel. Beneath these vaults lies the space dedicated to the solemn councils of the Convent and the Order. The Descent of the Holy Ghost here figured has its chief meaning with regard to these. He comes to bring such grace as may sanctify successive Chapters and enable the Dominicans to fulfil their vows and calling.

Now this grace is two-fold, and here even visibly such, being represented under one form on the west wall and under another on the east. For the ground and nature of this division, so important to a right understanding of the frescoes, we must look at the book held by the seated Aquinas of the west wall. This bears the first words of the Lesson from the Book of Wisdom appointed for St. Thomas Aquinas' day, which are as follows:—"Optavi, et datus est mihi sensus: et invocavi, et venit in me Spiritus sapientiae, et preposui illam regnis et sedibus." They point to a distinct choice in which, first Solomon at Gibeon and then Aquinas himself, preferred the way of Divine Wisdom to that of earthly power and honour, and received from God both the one and the other.[1] Here then is the key to this part of the frescoes. On the west—the more honourable place, as lying to the right hand of the Crucified Saviour on the north wall—the Holy Ghost descends as the Giver of Wisdom, on the east, or left, He appears as the Source of Power. A philosopher might describe this division as being between the subjective and the objective aspects of the Spirit's work in man;

[1] 1 Kings iii. 5-13. Wisdom vii. 6.

proposed by the Holy Ghost to human minds—that of Holy Scripture, which, if not more Divine than the Book of Nature, is at least more explicit and articulate in delivering to us the doctrine of God.

How high such studies may carry a man if he follow them under the Spirit's guidance is now seen in the place given at the centre of this wall to St. Thomas Aquinas. For Passavanti tells us that there are two ways of attaining Divine Wisdom: the first and highest, that of direct inspiration, wherein the human authors of the Bible "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" and the second, by study of these Scriptures under the guidance of the self-same Spirit.[1] Aquinas, as a supreme example of such secondary illumination, sits here in his cathedra, the centre of a line of Patriarchs, Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles—the authors of the sacred Books. He holds this place as the Dominican, who beyond all others, in his 'Summa,' ascertained the verity of Scripture Doctrine, and delivered it in logical form to the Christian world. Over him, at the very summit of the wall-space, float in air the four Cardinal and three Christian Virtues. These show that the highest science is that of Life itself, and that the supreme value of sacred study lies in the right conduct to which it should lead. In the very apex burns Love with all her flames, for 'the greatest of these is Charity.'

The west compartment of the roof brings its own confirmation of the line of thought on which we have been travelling. Pentecost is painted here directly under the descending Dove as the great historic scene when first the Apostles received the fulness of the Heavenly gift of wisdom. The application of this to what we have noticed below, and thence to all succeeding time, is marked by a number of curious correspondences in the details of vault and wall. The flames on the Apostles' heads find their reflection in those of Charity; the assembled Church in the upper room answers to the various Christian figures seated under the seven divisions of Sacred Science; the crowd about the door at which the Persian—nearest among nations to the Revelation of God—listens, corresponds with the seven Gentiles who represent secular wisdom; and, finally, the three dogs in the roof are symbolic of the three arch-heretics under the feet of Aquinas, and generally of all who, deaf to the Heavenly Voice, and as mere heathen, have neither part nor lot in this matter. "For without are dogs and sorcerers."[2]

Following the main axis of the Chapter House, we pass from the

[1] 'Specchio di Vera Penitenza,' Firenze, Vangelisti, p. 303.

[2] Rev. xxii. 15.

west to the east wall. The Charity which we found in the apex of the west wall is the last of gifts the first of graces. It is the principle by which, according to Aquinas, the *gratia gratis data* becomes the *gratia gratum efficiens*, and it prepares, therefore, the transition from the west to the east wall—from Faith to Works, for 'Faith worketh by Love.' As on the west, so here also in the eastern compartment of the vault, the descent of the Holy Ghost is represented, with this difference, however, that no visible form now declares His presence. He comes as the Wind which 'bloweth where it listeth:'[1] see the three heads which breathe in opposite directions through the cloud-trumpets of the sky. His presence is felt in every curve of the swelling sail, in every line of the straining cordage. It is He who drives the Ship of the Church on her predestined course. The Grace of Wisdom figured on the west wall is here fulfilled in the Gift of Power which as certainly forms the theme of all that has been painted on the east.

To see this Power in action we must, as before, look first at the lowest stage of the fresco. The Dominicans were, to begin with, the chief preaching Order. On the right, then, they stand fulfilling this duty, and on the left the results are seen in the visible Church gathered out of the world, defended from error, and nourished in the faith. These ideas are reinforced by a symbolic repetition. The discomfiture of error is seen in the wolves, who, attempting to prey on the sheep, are driven off by the black-and-white dogs[2] that form the guard of the fold: the edification of the Church, in the actual fabric of Duomo and Campanile, which rise on the left.

But a danger more insidious than that of heresy besets men—the constant temptation of a worldly life, to which so many yield, and pass their days in careless irreligion. These are painted in the earthly paradise which forms the second stage of this fresco on the right hand, where a joyous company, that seems studied from the pages of the Decameron, take their ease in music, sport, and dalliance. To meet this danger, another Power of the Holy Ghost is poured forth unto Repentance and amendment of life, and another throne prepared for the Ministers of the Word beside the Preacher's pulpit. They are penitentiaries, too, and have authority from God to apply His warnings and promises to particular cases. 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.'[3]

[1] St. John iii. 8. [2] 'Domini Canes,' the Dominicans. [3] St. John xx. 23.

This was the great theme of Passavanti in his 'Mirror of true Penitents,' and we trace his hand surely in the central place held by this Power on the east wall. The results are seen, as before, on the upper left hand, where the Heavenly Paradise corresponds to the Church on earth, over which it stands, and where St. Peter, first to receive the 'Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,'[1] waits to welcome those who by repentance unto life have 'become little children.'[2]

In the apex of this wall-space appears the figure of Christ, seated on the Eternal Throne of Judgment, and surrounded by cherubim and angels, while beneath, the dawn of the Last Day here breaking visibly in the East—note the orientation of this wall—slowly brightens over hills and plain: "We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge." This Throne, be it observed, stands over the seat of penitence, in the lower stage of the fresco, according to the saying of Passavanti, in his 'Mirror,' that the fear of judgment to come is one of the chief motives by which the Holy Spirit moves men to repentance.[3] It has also a meaning for the Penitentiary himself, who is hereby warned that his power is from above, his decisions subject to the supreme revision, and that only as he rightly interprets and applies the sayings written in the Book which Christ holds can his office claim the respect due to a manifest Power of God.

The scene in the eastern compartment of the roof brings all this doctrine to a worthy conclusion. As on the west, so here, the correspondences are exact enough to show plainly that roof and wall are meant to be read together. The fisher on the left, casting his line into the waters, answers to the Preachers who seek to save the souls of men—'I will make you fishers of men.'[4] St. Peter beginning to sink, but sustained by the voice and hand of Christ, is painted here as a lively image of the penitent saved in spite of sin and temptation. Finally, the Ship itself, built of the wood of the Cross, and driven by the wind of the Spirit, declares the course of the Church, whose composition we have seen figured below. And her course is such that, continued, it must bring the Ship into the southern roof-space where Christ rises to Heaven. Thus the consummation of all things is hinted at, when the Church shall be 'caught up to meet the Lord in the air,'[5] when He shall come again, even as He went into Heaven.'[6]

---

[1] St. Matt. xvi. 19.
[2] St. Matt. xviii. 3.
[3] *Op. cit.*, cap. 2.
[4] St. Matt. iv. 19.
[5] 1 Thess. iv. 17.
[6] Acts i. 11.

APPENDIX TO PART III.

APPENDIX TO PART III.

Iconography of the Spanish Chapel.

General Remarks.—We have noticed in another place the ideal unity which makes these paintings resemble a vast picture-book of consistent though varied doctrine. But they have also an artistic unity of composition remarkable enough to draw the attention of Vasari, who points out that instead of being broken up, as was the common custom of these times, into many separate scenes, each great architectural compartment is filled by a single if sometimes complicated composition. It is not impossible that the peculiar conditions under which the artists worked may have influenced their manner, or in other words, that the second unity may have arisen out of the first.

The decorative effect of these frescoes is much heightened by the broad black line which borders each of the wall-spaces above and about. This enhances the effect of the colours contained within it, as *kohl* adds brilliance to an eastern eye, and we must not forget to observe that the requisite ecclesiastical note is supplied by the deep ornamental edgings with their multiplied saints and manifold scriptures, which like mighty *orphreys* bind and weave the whole into a majestic altar-vestment of glory and beauty. The panel outlines in these borders are distinctly Orgagnesque, and should be compared with those carved on the marbles of the Bigallo. The use of inscribed scrolls, too, such as abound here, is mentioned by Vasari as a known character of the same artist's work (*op. cit.*, I., p. 597).

The Altarpiece.—This composition now stands in the north-west corner of the Green Cloister. That it was originally intended for the Chapter-House is plain from the sense of the Scriptures which it displays. It is a richly framed polyptych of five panels sadly faded, but of late secured under glass. In the centre sits the Virgin with the Divine Child: 'Ego sum Panis vivus qui de celo descendi.' On the right of these figures is that of St. John: 'Hic est Panis qui de celo descendit, non sicut manducaverunt,' &c. Next comes St. Peter, and, looking to the left of the Virgin, we find St. John the Baptist, while beyond him again stands St. Matthew: 'Accepit Jesus panem, benedixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis: ait, accipite et comedite, oc est Corpus meum.' A serious and pleasing composition in an ancient style, which Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute to Agnolo Gaddi. Making allowance for its faded condition and for the greater restraint usual in altarpieces one can believe it may have been the work of one of the artists employed in the Chapter-House. The cherubim in the frame have been repainted.

North Wall.—The frescoes of this Chapter-House are not so unique as to stand absolutely by themselves without relation to other and earlier works of art. The first of these sources

for the ideas and arrangement which we have observed here, lies not far off, being that frescoed Tree of the Dominican Order, probably the work of Stefano Fiorentino, which stands in a lunette on the north side of the Green Cloister against the wall of the ancient Church. In the centre of the Tree is a Crucifix, and of this Crucifix the fresco on the north wall of the Chapter-House, in its successive scenes of the Via Dolorosa, the Crucifixion and the Descent into Hades, is simply the expansion. Padre Fineschi (H., Life of Passavanti) tells us that in the Crucifixion here, there is a portrait of the Duke of Athens in the figure of the soldier on a white horse who has pierced the side of Christ. It will be remembered that one of the Passavanti distinguished himself in opposition to the Duke's tyranny, and if Fra Jacopo arranged the subjects of these frescoes he may well have suggested the idea of this pictorial judgment to the artists. For the Hades, see the Apocryphal 'Gospel of Nicodemus,' where a very striking use is made of the refrain in Psalm 24. Here, visibly, in the shattered and scattered lintel, the 'gates have lifted up their heads,' and with the entry of Christ 'the King of Glory has come in.' The figures of the 'spirits in prison' adoring and welcoming their Deliverer, are perhaps the most beautiful of any in the Chapel.

North Roof-space.—The Resurrection here corresponds to the Phœnix painted above the crucifix in Stefano's Tree. The peacock and fountain are emblems of eternal life; the opposite figures in a fruitful paradise, represent its joys. Notice the attempt to light the landscape from the body of the risen Redeemer: this had probably never been made before.

South Wall.—Corresponds with the medallions of the Dominican Order in Stefano's Tree. The novice who receives the habit *may* be Aquinas, but the preacher is clearly another, and his bearded face suggests Albert of Cologne. The Martyr is, of course, Peter of Verona who met his death at the hands of Patarenes in 1252.

South Roof-space.—The Ascension here is a further derivative from the idea implied in Stefano's Phœnix, Which is now seen after Resurrection rising in the air to return to His own country. Pictorially this is the weakest and least interesting of all these compositions.

In passing to the West and East walls, we may draw attention to the general correspondence they show with Orgagna's Altarpiece, commissioned in 1354 for the Strozzi Chapel, but not painted till 1357 (v. *supra*, p. 135). There the honours of Heaven are divided between St. Thomas Aquinas, who receives the Book of Doctrine, and St. Peter, to whom the Keys of Power are granted. Here, too, the same figures appear with the same prominence, the same symbols, and holding the same relation on right and left to the Crucified Saviour of the North wall. A compartment of the predella shows St. Peter walking on the sea. This can hardly be accidental. Note, too, that Ghiberti says of Orgagna 'fece la Cappella Maggiore di S. M. Novella, e moltissime altre cose dipinse in detta Chiesa.' From these the Cappella Strozzi must be excluded, as Ghiberti ascribes it to Nardo his brother. Is it possible he thought Orgagna had worked in the Spanish Chapel?

West Wall.—Here we must note a correspondence so singular, that it may yet contribute to the discovery of the real authors of these designs, both ideal and pictorial. Francesco Traini was a scholar of Orgagna ('maestro Francesco, lo quale istæ in botegha dellandrea,' Archivio dello Spedale, Pistoia, Libro d' Entrata e Uscita dell Opera di S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas, p. 1). He painted c. 1340 a triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas on tavola, which is still to be seen in the Dominican Church of S. Caterina at Pisa, and it is this picture which shows the exact correspondence with the West wall of the Capitolo of S. M. Novella to which we would now draw attention. In the apex of this tavola, which originally had the gabled form of an *ancona*, Christ appears in a mandorla, which answers to the Lamb in Glory on the

central boss of the Spanish Chapel vault. In a descending line on either side appear the figures, three and three, of Evangelists and Apostles with their Scriptures in hand, and from these as well as from our Lord rays of heavenly illumination proceed, falling to a focus on the head of St. Thomas, whose colossal figure dominates the whole composition from a mighty

ADDENDA.

P. 164. The effect of light noted in the fresco of the Resurrection may not have been tried before in that subject, but it appears even more clearly in those of the Magi and Shepherds on the south wall of the Baroncelli Chapel in S. Croce. These frescoes are by Taddeo Gaddi, and this correspondence adds to the likelihood that the Gaddi worked in the Spanish Chapel.

P. 165. The Triumph of Aquinas in these two forms was a more or less immediate product of the Orgagna *bottega*. Compare this, then, with what Vasari says of Andrea's studies in Dante. (*Op. cit.*, I., 595.)

„ „ In the comparison of the *sedile* with the Tabernacle, the chief point to be noted is the roundness of the arch under the cusped ornament. This is peculiarly Orgagnesque, and was in fact the new form of the Renaissance all but ready to shed the fripperies of the decadent Gothic under which it gradually matured itself.

find it worth while to examine this series in detail, under the threefold subdivision of each subject to which we have already alluded. A safe approach to the scheme here will be found in the contrasted ideas of Law and Gospel, under which all Divine Revelation may be grouped.

1. *Civil Law*, with level sword of Justice and divided orb, where 'Africa' has been altered to 'America' by a restorer. The medallion, perhaps, represents the importunate widow, and the historical figure is the Emperor Justinian, with his Pandects. As we have already noticed, Law is here conceived of as founded on that given first from Sinai.

2. *Canon Law*, holding a model of the Church in her hands, to show the limited application of Jurisprudence intended here. The medallion has a figure counting money, 'Render unto God the things that are God's.' The portrait of Pope Clement V., who died in 1314, is placed below.

3. *The New Law.*—We would suggest that this is a figure of the transition from Law to Gospel. It is Law rising into Gospel in the first words of Christ, or Gospel delivered under the form of Law as in the Sermon on the Mount—the scene pictured in the miniature held by the principal figure. Her dress is green, with the spring-time of the Gospel, the renewal of the Law, and over her head the medallion shows an act of charity. 'Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come, follow Me.' The historic character below is Peter Lombard, the author of the great code of 'Sentences' or judgments of the Fathers.

We now come to the well-known threefold division of Theology and find :—

1. [4.] *The Theology of Faith*, of those, that is, who rest without question on the Divine Authority of Scripture. The rod in her hand is perhaps the 'measure of Faith' spoken of by St. Paul (Rom. xii. 3). Above, in the medallion, is a child at the breast, 'as new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the Word, that ye may grow thereby' (I. St. Peter ii. 2). Below sits Dionysius, the Areopagite, as the most notable of the few who received with faith the preaching of St. Paul at Athens.

2. [5.] *The Theology of Reason*, of those who apply the Divine gift of mind to the examination and proof of what their faith has already received. The principal figure holds a winnowing-fan: 'prove all things,' and wears a triple crown, perhaps because under guidance of the Holy Ghost the mind of man has access to, and a kind of empire in, the three realms of earth, heaven, and hell: or past, present, and future. She is dressed in red, and the woman of the medallion lays her hands on her heart, because 'pectus facit Theologum.' The historic figure is Boetius, who was master of the still unbroken dialectic tradition of Aristotle, and whom the middle ages believed to have consecrated his great gifts to the cause of Christian Truth.

3. [6.] *Theology by Revelation*, the intuition of the Mystic, who enters by a rare grace into direct relation with the upper world of Divine Truth, having got beyond words, and seeing the eternal verities rather than hearing of them. Her glance is upward, and on her left hand she wears a falconer's gauntlet. The disappearance of the hawk itself, not quite complete, adds a fortuitous force to the idea of the soul-flight which it was meant to express, and in which supreme truth is the object and quarry sought. In the medallion are two children, perhaps because God has 'hid these things from the wise and prudent' and has 'revealed them unto babes.' Beneath sits St. John Damascene, who spent his last years a recluse in the Monastery of St. Saba, near Jerusalem, writing his 'Canons' or Hymns, and his famous mystical romance of 'Barlaam and Josaphat.'

In Mystic Theology we touch the last and highest division—the *ne plus ultra* of sacred science. It only remains to sum up the whole in another and final aspect. We began by viewing it in the light of a New Law, we close by finding that it can pronounce judgment unto condemnation as :—

7. *Polemic Theology.*—Figure clothed in red for zeal, or perhaps to hint at that love in which the sharpest truth should always be spoken. She bears in her hand a bow, and above, the medallion shows an armed soldier. The historic figure is St. Augustine, in allusion to his controversy with the Donatists.

West Roof-space.—It may be noted that the building where the disciples are assembled,

and about the door of which the nations are gathered, has been conceived and represented in a pure and severe romanesque style. At the time when these frescoes were painted, this had in Italy passed quite out of fashion. It was, no doubt, revived here with the idea of giving an ancient character to a house of the epoch of the first century A.D.

East Wall.—The relation of the Duomo as drawn here to the actual Cathedral of Florence, is as difficult as it is interesting (see Alvino, 'Gli Orbi,' Firenze, 1865; Nardini Mospignotti, 'Il Sistema Tricuspidale,' Livorno, 1871, and Cavallucci, 'S. Maria del Fiore,' Firenze, 1887). It should be noted that in 1357, and for some time before and after, the architect of the Cathedral was Francesco Talenti da Nipozzano, in all probability a brother of Fra Jacopo, who built this Chapel for Guidalotti, and who was once and again called—as were also Gaddi and Orgagna—to revise the Cathedral plans with the Board of Works. In the windows of the clerestory as painted here we have a proof that this fresco must have been finished before 1363, for on the 4th of October in that year the Board decided to have them made round, as we see them now in the Duomo itself. But notice especially the signs of Orgagna's taste in the arrangement of the transept and cupolas here. They show the same elements which compose the upper part of the Or San Michele Tabernacle, though of course under the variety of arrangement and proportion which the size and plan of the Duomo imposed. The Transept cupola rises out of a group of enclosing pediments and pinnacles, not unlike those of the tabernacle, and above, the greater dome shows floriated ribs, which remind us that the same device may be seen on the tiny cupola in Or San Michele. We can hardly doubt whose hand is here, and may connect the appearance of this design, in a place where it must have drawn much attention, with the fact that in 1366 Taddeo Gaddi and Andrea Orgagna—note the association—were called with other painters to furnish a model or models for the Cathedral (Arch. dell' Opera del Duomo, *Liber Stantiamentorum Mei Johannis Scriptoris*, 1363-69, fol. 64 tergo). For it is not impossible that their work in the Spanish Chapel, and especially this part of it, may have suggested their names to the Board of Works. The group of figures representing the true Church gathered on the left under the shelter of the Cathedral of Florence, has all the individual character proper to a collection of portraits, and tradition confirms this view by giving names to some of the principal personages. Here again Vasari's account is so loose as to convince us he must have written it from memory. One would fancy from what he says that the portrait of Madonna Laura appeared in the Paradise of earthly delights, and that Petrarch was also there, whereas, in reality, both she and her poet belong to the group of the Church. Laura is that figure in green at the front, kneeling almost exactly under the perpendicular line of the Church façade. The artist has painted a little flame at her throat, and her dress, now much faded, was originally covered with violets, for :—

> 'negli occhi ho pur le violette e 'l verde,
> di che era nel principio di mia guerra
> Amor ornato sì, ch'ancor mi sforza.'

so that there can be little doubt of the intention, whatever may be thought of the likeness. Nor is it likely that Laura would be represented and Petrarch forgotten, but it is rather odd to find that the figure, traditionally held for his, is quite at the other side of the group, beyond the bearded Knight of Rhodes: being almost the last on the left, as Laura is almost the first on the right; nor does the face agree with the features of the poet, as they appear in better ascertained portraits. The Pope is said to show the lineaments of Fra Niccolò da Treviso, a

Dominican who, under the name of Benedict XI., held the See of Rome till his death in 1304. Considering the time that had elapsed between that date and the painting of this fresco—more than fifty years—it is difficult to know how much value should be given to the tradition. The Cardinal is said to be Fra Niccolò da Prato, a noted ecclesiastic of S. M. Novella, who obtained his hat from Benedict XI. in 1303. Vasari speaks of figures representing Cimabue, Lapo, Arnolfo, and Simone himself, the painter of the fresco, but gives no signs by which they can be identified. Their names have been popularly connected with the group, whose heads are on a level with, and close beside, the Emperor's left hand. The figure in profile with a white mantle and *cappuccio* is taken for Cimabue, and that in full face, next the Emperor, for Arnolfo. But Fineschi (see MS. H., 'Life of Passavanti') seems to give a different account. His words are:—'Giovanni Cimabue is the man dressed in white with a *cappuccio*, beside whom (allato a cui) the painter Memmi drew himself, with Lapo and his son Arnolfo, architect of the Duomo, and Count Guido Guerra of Poppi in the figure of an armed knight.' Now the only knight in armour stands at the extreme right of the composition, near the figure of Madonna Laura, and, as we should expect, forms the last of a group of five persons, the first being a man in a cappuccio and cloak of particolour, white and red. It would seem then that this was Cimabue, according to the older tradition. The figure in pure white, commonly pointed out as his, shows a startling likeness to the profile of Agnolo Gaddi in the ancient portrait on tavola which, as undoubtedly authentic, has been reproduced in colour by Litta in his 'Famiglie Italiane.'[1] But indeed the certainty that this fresco was not painted before 1355 leaves us little interest in the exact meaning of a tradition which not improbably owed its being to the idea that the Spanish Chapel was built and painted much earlier in the century. Vasari says:—'He painted also in the same place the Cardinal Niccola da Prato beside the said Pope; which Cardinal was come *in that very time* to Florence as Legate sent by the said Pope,' which would refer the artist's work to the year 1304.

East Roof-space.—Lord Lindsay remarks that the Ship of the Church in the Storm was perhaps represented here in allusion to Dante's lines in praise of St. Dominic:—

> Pensa ormai qual fù colui, che degno
> Collega fù a mantener la barca
> Di Pietro in alto mar per dritto segno (Par. xi., 118-20),

yet the helmsman here, in Peter's absence, is not St. Dominic, but one of the Apostles. Artistically the composition belongs to the direct line of pure Florentine tradition, being an almost exact copy of the famous 'Navicella,' executed by Giotto in 1298 in mosaic, and now placed in the Vestibule of St. Peter's at Rome.

The Artists.—Even a hasty view of these paintings will show that at least two hands were employed here, and it is hardly less sure that the roof, and at least the upper part of the west wall are Giottesque, while the rest of the building has been decorated in the style of the Sienese Masters. Beyond this, however, all is uncertain. The frescoes were not painted till after 1355, yet Lorenzo Ghiberti makes no mention of them in his Commentaries, though he was born in 1378 and must, one would fancy, have known perfectly well who the artists were. Vasari, as is well known, attributes them to 'Simone Memmi' and Taddeo Gaddi, saying that the former, with the help of his 'brother' Lippo, painted the north, east, and south walls,

[1] This resemblance was pointed out to me by Mr. Charles Loeser, to whom I owe thanks for the suggestion.

while the latter worked on the west wall and roof. In this account of the matter he is supported by the Canonico Petrei (MS. Bibl. Naz. Flor. XIII., 89, p. 54), who says:—'Tre facciate del Capitolo; Simone Memmi Saneta. Una facciata nel Capitolo: Taddeo Gaddi.' Such indeed was the opinion generally held in the early sixteenth century, and it found expression not only in the pages of Vasari and Petrei, but also in the 'Lezioni Petrarchesche' of the Academician G. B. Gelli (reprinted from the rare edition of 1549 in the 'Scelta di Curiosità' of Romagnoli, Bologna, 1884, p. 255). Mecatti tells us that there were once inscriptions in 'ancient' characters which told the same story: that on the West wall saying:—"Taddei Gaddi Florentini opus, qui hunc parietem una cum superiori Testudine egregie dipinxit," and that on the East bearing:—"Simonis Memmi Senensis opus qui triplicem hunc parietem nobilissima hac pictura ingeniosissime ornavit." Inscribed scrolls abound in the borders of these frescoes and it would not surprise us to learn that the artists of the Spanish Chapel had left, in this way, a record of their names. But unfortunately the language of these legends as reported by Mecatti is enough to show that they belong to a later time: they possess no independent value as evidence, and can only be accepted as a further proof of what is otherwise well known, that during the early sixteenth century, when doubtless the inscriptions were composed, the frescoes were generally held for the work of 'Memmi' and Gaddi. Mecatti says these inscriptions disappeared under restoration, and perhaps this took place in 1592, for Rosselli, who wrote his 'Sepoltuario' c. 1650, though so accurate an observer, does not notice them and even wavers in the account he gives of the frescoes, calling them in the preface to his chapter on S. M. Novella 'di mano di Giotto' and later on adding with an accent of doubt 'La pittura di questo Capitolo, secondo Giorgio Vasari, fù fatta da Taddeo Gaddi e da Simone Memmi Sanese.'

Thanks to the critical enquiries of Rumohr and Milanesi we now know the weak point in Vasari's story. This lies in what he says of Simone Sanese. The painter's real name was Maestro Simone di Martino, and the surname Memmi properly belonged, not to him but to Lippo, whose sister he had married. Thus Simone and Lippo were not brothers, but brothers-in-law. It is also known that Simone died at Avignon in 1344, so that he could not have worked in the Spanish Chapel, as the decoration there was not even begun in 1355, when the founder made his will. Proved wrong in the case of one painter, Vasari's story has suffered further discredit in the inevitable suspicion that it may also be untrustworthy in what it tells of Taddeo Gaddi, though the lifetime of this artist, who only died in 1366, would permit of his having worked in the Spanish Chapel. The criticism of style has entered at the door opened by that founded on research. We are told that the character of the frescoes themselves would suffice to show that neither Simone Martini nor Taddeo Gaddi had any hand in them. They have been ascribed, even by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, rather to secondary artists of the schools of Florence and Siena, such as Antonio Veneziano and Andrea da Firenze. Research again has proved that the latter artist painted certain frescoes in the Pisan Campo Santo, representing the legend of St. Ranieri, and it is a strange coincidence, if nothing more, that Vasari ascribes these also to Simone 'Memmi.'

These somewhat doubtful results must ever seem peculiarly disappointing in the case of a work of Art so important and interesting as are the frescoes of the Spanish Chapel. Yet they are all that the best criticism has hitherto found for our enlightenment. One is almost afraid to pronounce, even in the most tentative way, on so difficult a question. Perhaps, however, sufficient attention has not been paid to what may be called the general probabilities here. It can hardly be doubted that these point to the schools of the Gaddi

and of Orgagna: to the former on account of their close family connection with S. M. Novella, and to the latter as having been recently favoured by Passavanti himself in the person of Andrea Orgagna, whom he called to decorate the Chancel. We have seen in the course of these brief notes how many details in the Spanish Chapel point in the same direction, and may now conclude by saying that while such a probability, general or particular, can never bar the free criticism of style, or supersede the certainty of a documentary evidence yet to seek, it may fairly call for fresh enquiry, and if that prove fruitful, may yet claim a share in the honours of such a result.

THE END.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A

PAGE

Abbot of the Gate, . . . 29, 48
Academy, the Florentine, . . . 93
Age of the Spirit, . . . 155, 156
Agolanti, Sandro, ... 131
Albertus, Priest, ... 29
Alfieri-Strinati Chapel, . . . 108
Allori, Alessandro, . . 125, 134, 149
Amaddio del Giocondo, . . . 107
Amieri vault, ... 87, 105
Andrea da Fiesole, ... 118
Angelico, Fra Giovanni, 121, 122, 124, 136
Annunciation (fresco), . . . 68
Architects of Church, &c., . . 67, 75
Arco, place called, . . . 15, 41
Arco, St. Andrea all', . . . 23
Atrium of Church, . . . 19, 33
Avelli, ... 101–104

B

Baccio di Agnolo, . . . 124, 131
Bandini, Giovanni, ... 134
Barbarian invasion, ... 4
Bargello door, ... 82
Bells of Church, . . 20, 33, 135, 136
Benedetto da Maiano, . . . 128
Betti vault, ... 100, 105
Borghese, Fra, ... 67, 68
Borgo S. M. Novella, . . . 16, 21
„ San Paolo, . . . 16, 74, 78
Botticelli, ... 116
Brachetti, Fra Giovanni, . . . 68
Brickwork, remarkable, . . . 58
Bronzino, Angelo, ... 134
Brunelleschi, ... 119, 133
„ vault, . . . 106, 107
Bruno, ... 117
Buffalmacco, . . . 117, 134, 136
Buontalenti, ... 120, 136
Bugiardini, ... 126

C

Cambi, Fra Albertino, . . . 75
Campanile, . . . 20, 67, 135, 136
„ Chapel, ... 136
Campi, Fra Giovanni da, . 68, 76, 78, 83
„ Fra Ristoro da, . . 62, 63, 67
Canons of Florence, . . . 22–35
Carboni vault, . . 99, 100, 104, 105
Casentino, Jacopo da, . . . 107
Cavalcanti, Fra Aldobrandino, . 62, 63
Cemeteries, . . . 8, 9, 21, 94–109
Chancel, . . . 58, 59, 64, 128–131
Chapel of S. M. Novella,
8–11, 14, 18, 75, 86, 143, 144
„ of St. Dominic, . . 133, 134
„ of St. Luke, . . . 132, 133
Chapter-House in Borgo, . . 74, 77
„ Guidalotti's, 83, 86, 139–160
„ del Nocentino, . 77, 144
Choir, . 18, 19, 48, 66, 71, 119–125, 132
Church of 1094, . . . 12–21, 40, 75
Churchwardens, . . . 30, 32
Cimabue, ... 59–61, 76
Ciocchi, Ulisse, ... 115
Cioni, Battista, ... 114

PAGE

Civil War at S. M. Novella, . 33, 34
Cloister, the Oldest, 9, 25, 26, 73, 75, 86–88
„ the Great, 10, 76–80, 84, 85, 88–93
„ the Green, 10, 69 (note), 75, 80, 84, 97
Dati's, ... 90
„ Infirmary, ... 74
Columns, Memorial, . . . 10, 16, 55
Convent, ... 73–93
Corpus Domini Procession, . . 115
Council of Florence, . . . 91–93, 156
Croce al Trebbio, . 15, 16, 18, 42, 55
Croce, Church of Sta, . . 65, 66, 70
Crucifix, ancient, ... 18
Culliari or Chiozzo, Piero di, . . 107
Curtis of S. M. Novella, . 8–11, 20, 25

D

Daniel, a Priest, ... 29
Debt on Church, . 15, 29, 30–32, 43, 44
Decoration of Church, . . 68, 69
Della Robbia, Giovanni, . . . 136
Disturbance at S. M. Novella, . 53, 54
Dominican Order, . . . 52–55
Donatello, ... 90, 133
Door built up by Vasari, . . . 19
Dormitories, . . 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 86
Dosio, G. Antonio, ... 134
Duccio di Buoninsegna, . . 127, 128

E

Election to Rectory, early form of, 28, 29
Empoli, Jacopo da, ... 120

F

Façade of Church, ... 114
Feuing at S. M. Novella, . 15, 16, 45–47
Fiesole, ... 5, 12
Flood of 1333, ... 79
Florence, ... 4, 12
Foot of San Pancrazio, . . . 41
Friars' Walk, ... 83

G

Gaddi, the, . . 116, 122, 134, 147
„ Chapel, . . . 96, 106, 134

PAGE

Gaddi vault, ... 107
Gambler, a sacrilegious, . . . 81
Gardens of S. M. Novella, 48, 73, 74, 76, 80–82
Gerardo, Priest, . . 15, 26, 29, 30, 31
Gesù Pellegrino, . . . 106–108
Ghiberti, Lorenzo, . . 90, 121, 134
Ghirlandaio, Benedetto, . . . 131
„ Davide, . . . 126, 131
„ Domenico, . . 129–131
Giottino, ... 86, 116, 134
Giotto, ... 115, 121
Giovanni da Salerno, Fra, 71, 94, 95, 117, 125, 126
„ da Settignano, ... 131
Girolami, Fra Remigio, . . . 77
Giuliano di San Gallo, . . . 133
Gondi Chapel, . . . 57–61, 65, 96
Granacci, Francesco, ... 131
Greek painters, . . 59–61, 99, 132, 133
Grimaldo, Priest, . . . 6, 13, 40
Grotesques, . . . 58, 59, 127, 132
Guelphs and Ghibellines, . . 52–55, 64
Guidalotti, ... 100, 141–146

H

High Altar, ... 131, 132
Hospitals, ... 53, 113
Hospitium of S. M. Novella, . 78, 90

I

Inquisition, the, ... 55
Infirmary, ... 74, 77

J

Jacopo da Casentino, ... 107
„ da Empoli, ... 120

L

Laudesi, the, ... 74, 127
Legates, Papal, . . . 35, 53, 54, 64
Library, ... 83, 142
Ligozzi, ... 123
Lionardo da Vinci, ... 92
Lippi, ... 126, 128
Lucardo, ... 5

M

PAGE

Martino, Church of San, . . . 7
Masaccio, ... 116, 118, 136
Mazzanti, Fra Albertino, . . . 67
Mazzetto, Fra, ... 67
Medical Mission, ... 77
Memmi, Simone and Lippo, . 133, 147
Michael Angelo, . 126, 131, 134, 136
Monaldo, Priest, ... 29
Mugnone, the, . . 5, 8, 12, 16, 19, 69

N

Name of S. M. Novella, ... 3
Nave of Church, 64, 66, 67, 96, 115–119
Niccolò, Chapel of San,
78, 79, 88–90, 106, 129, 143
Novella, what, ... 3
„ at Florence, . . . 6–8, 30, 39
„ at Radda, ... 5
„ near Radicofani, . . . 5
„ at San Casciano, . . . 3, 5

O

Oratory of S. M. Novella, . . . 14
Orgagna, . . 128, 129, 134, 135, 165

P

Parish of S. M. Novella, . . 15, 16, 46
Passavanti, Fra Jacopo,
69, 104, 128, 141–144, 150, 151
Patarenes, ... 51–55
Paul, Priest, ... 15, 31–36
„ St., Epistles of, ... 44
Peter of Verona, . . . 55, 56
Petrus, Presbyter, ... 29
Pharmacy, the, ... 74, 89
Piazza, the New, . . 16, 65, 113, 114
„ the Old, . . 56, 57, 101, 113
Pisani, the, . . . 122, 125, 127
Plague of 1348, ... 140, 142
Poccetti, ... 124, 149
Polverosa, ... 15, 16, 73
Ponte Petrino, the, . . . 15, 19, 44
Popoleschi vault, . . . 86, 87, 105
Porta Baschiera, . . . 12, 16, 19

PAGE

Porta S. Pancrazio, ... 15
Portraits, . . . 116, 126, 130, 131
Prosperity of S. M. Novella, . . 15
Puccio Fiorentino, ... 135
Pulpit, ... 119
Pura Chapel, ... 19, 69, 70
„ Confraternity, ... 88

Q

Quarrels at S. M. Novella, . 7, 15, 16, 27–35

R

Ranieri, Priest, ... 33–35
Refectory, the, ... 83
Rembertus, Priest, ... 29
Renaissance, the, ... 93
Roads, Ancient, . . 9, 11, 21, 41–43
Rucellai Chapel, . 57, 67, 70, 95–97
„ Villa, ... 24

S

Sacristy, the, . . 10, 17, 67, 89, 136
Sale del Papa, ... 90–93
Schism, the great, ... 156
Seal of Convent, ... 18
Sepolcreto, 9, 10, 20, 21, 75, 97–100, 104–108
Silvio da Fiesole, ... 122
Sisto, Fra, ... 62, 63, 67
Spanish Chapel, . . . 10, 83, 139–160
Spinello Aretino, . . . 88, 89, 126
Stanza dei Beati, . . . 98, 136
Steccuti vault, . . . 96, 97, 100, 105
Stefano Fiorentino, . 81, 82, 84, 87, 134
Strozzi Chapel, . 57, 68, 96–98, 134, 135
„ vault, . . . 86, 105, 143
„ Zanobi, ... 124

T

Talenti, Fra Jacopo,
68, 82–84, 135, 136, 143, 144
Tino di Camaino, ... 125
Tithes, ... 27, 40
Tombs, ... 65, 66, 72
Tornaquinci vaults, . 86, 87, 99, 105, 106
Totila, ... 4
Tramezzo, ... 119–125

Transepts, PAGE
21, 51–61, 65, 66, 95–97, 101, 125–136

U

Ugo, Priest, ... 29, 30
Ugolino di Siena, . . . 131, 147

V

Valfonda, Via, . . . 16, 73, 77, 94
Vasari's restoration, . . . 70–72
Veracini, Agostino, ... 149
Villana, the Beata, . . 122, 125, 126

W

Walls of Florence, . . 12, 13, 16, 65
Windows, stained,
18, 81, 115, 117, 123, 126, 131, 136

LORIMER AND CHALMERS, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH.